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MOTHERS n Industry



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MOTHERS IN INDUSTRY

Wage - Earning by Mothers
in Philadelphia

GWENDOLYN SALISBURY HUGHES, PH.D.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY SCHOLAR AND CAROLA WOERISHOFFER

FELLOW, 1918-1920, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE



The Evangelical
School of Theology

*Prepared through the co-operation of the Carola
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PREFACE

In 1918 a Conference on Parenthood,¹ made up of representatives of various social agencies in Philadelphia, discovered that their organizations were being confronted by the increasing problems arising from the absence of mothers from their homes. It therefore appointed a committee to devise some means of finding out the effect on the home of earning by mothers outside the home.

At the same time two studies made by the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research at Bryn Mawr College had aroused the Department to the necessity of knowing something about the mother in industry. *Industrial Home Work*, the first of these studies, was prepared in cooperation with the Pennsylvania State Department of Labor and Industry and the Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania. It found that at least 12,000 women, living in practically every section of the state, were factory wage-earners in their own homes. The second investigation, conducted in 1918-19, found that as a war measure women were being rapidly substituted for men in mills and factories.

The Committee on Wage-earning Mothers,² there-

¹ Mrs. Amey Eaton Watson, Chairman; Francis N. Maxfield, Vice-chairman; J. Bruce Byall, Secretary and Treasurer.

² Miss Anna B. Pratt, Chairman; Mrs. R. R. P. Bradford, Antoinette Canon, Karl de Schweinitz, Fred T. Gruenberg, Edith Hilles, John Ihlder, Susan M. Kingsbury, Betsey Libbey, Estelle Lauder, Hazel G. Ormsbee, J. Prentice Murphy, Helen Wallerstein, Mrs. Amey Eaton Watson.

fore, met with ready response when it appealed to the Carola Woerishoffer Department to conduct an investigation into causes and conditions of work by mothers in industry. These two organizations immediately sought and secured the assistance of Seybert Institution through its Bureau of Research, which had already made large effort to discover the causes for maladjustment in the home and means for its prevention.

And so this cooperative venture to find out the facts of the case was undertaken under the advice of the Committee on Wage-earning Mothers, by Seybert Institution, whose Foundation is on behalf of the child and its home, and by the Seminary in Social and Industrial Research of the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Bryn Mawr College, whose desire it was to study the mother in relation to industry.

To determine whether the employment of the mother is vital to industry on the one hand, whether her wage-earning activity interferes with home life on the other hand; whether this question is one of industry or one of the family or one of society at large—this was the purpose of the study.

The responsibility for the analysis of the returns and the preparation of the report devolved upon Gwendolyn Salisbury Hughes, the author of this book. The field work was carried on by Dr. Hughes, the members of the Seminary in Social and Industrial Research,¹ investigators employed by Seybert Institu-

¹ The members of the Seminary throughout the year were Leah H. Feder, Elizabeth Hays, Gwendolyn S. Hughes and Amey E. Watson; during the first semester, Alpha B. Buse, Helen A. Cook, Emma G. Corstvet, Mary Dinsmore, Harriet L. Herring, Helen S. Opp, Hallie U. Stiles, Jeanette O. White and Margaret W. Wood; during the second semester, Marie L. Borngesser, Mabel M. Kroh, Florence R. Mason, Dorothy E. McDowell and Bertha Morehouse.

tion,¹ and, in the house-to-house survey, by students of Temple University. Much of the work in tabulation of returns was done by clerks employed by Seybert Institution. The supervision of the study was under the joint direction of Helen C. Wallerstein, acting Director of the Bureau of Research of Seybert Institution, and Susan M. Kingsbury, Director of the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research. The financial responsibility was thus jointly shared by Seybert Institution and the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department.

Of the Study, Section I, "Causes which Take Mothers into Industry," except that part of Chapter I which presents conclusions based on Section II, and the "Appendix" including the "Bibliography," constitute a dissertation presented to the faculty of Bryn Mawr College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Gwendolyn Salisbury Hughes.²

To plan for the study was fairly simple, to carry it out, very complex. Who were these mothers? Where were they working? How were they to be found? When could they be interviewed? Efforts to secure the names through industries failed. Wage-earning mothers were not to be found anywhere in large numbers.

¹ To the investigators, Marian C. Himmelwright and Louella Jackson, employed by Seybert Institution, and to Helen D. Nelson, engaged by the Philadelphia Day Nurseries Association to visit mothers whose children attended the three Day Nurseries, especial acknowledgment is due. Esther Cloud, Secretary in the Bureau of Research of Seybert Institution, throughout the study, contributed careful and untiring service in rough sheeting returns, preparing tables, making assignments to investigators, watching returns, and the thousand and one details which maintain order and provide accuracy and reliability in statistical analysis.

² All figures originally quoted from the United States Census of 1910 have been corrected from the Census of 1920.

To use Day Nurseries, Charity Organizations, Mothers' Assistance Fund, as a source for discovery of working mothers meant to secure a selected and weighted group.

The original, unique, and perhaps most valuable feature of the report is its thoroughly representative character. Twelve thousand households and more were visited in a preliminary survey, and a complete though brief schedule was obtained from 10,838 households, seeking information concerning the composition of the household and family, the age of the children and the number of wage-earners. Questions were asked with the immediate purpose of discovering the group of mothers who were at work or had been at work within the past year and who had at the time one or more children under sixteen years of age.

The survey was made in six sections of the city. In some instances, districts known to contain large numbers of working mothers were selected, while the choice of other districts was based only upon the expectation that they might be found there. Sections which were largely Italian or Jewish in population were avoided on the assumption that mothers from these racial groups do not work outside the home.¹ No colored women were included.

But the survey was of more than immediate value. Not only did it provide for investigation an unselected group of mothers in industry, but it also established a norm of the industrial family with which to compare the home of the mother who enters industry.

Of the 728 mothers who were finally discovered, 588 came through these house-to-house visits, and 140 through three social organizations and four employers. That is, 84 addresses were secured through the Philadelphia Day Nursery Association from the Baldwin Day

¹ Odencrantz, Louise C., *Italian Women in Industry*, p. 13.

Nursery, the First Day Nursery, and the Harrison Day Nursery, 12 through the White Williams Foundation and the Social Service Department of the Hahnemann Hospital, and 44 from employers.

Then came the arduous and careful intensive investigation. The wage-earning mothers whose names had been gained in the course of the house-to-house survey or had been otherwise found were revisited in their homes. All of the information was obtained during the course of one rather long interview. Mothers cooperated most heartily in filling out the long and detailed schedule, reprinted in Appendix A, which covered the composition of the household, the domestic arrangements of the home and the mother's industrial record. The schedule places the greatest emphasis on the mother of the household, while comparatively little attention is paid to the father and his place in the family. In the main, the mothers' statements were accepted as final. The records of the Registration Bureau were consulted to see if the families were known to social agencies but the case histories were not read. The schedules of the 237 widows were checked against the records of the Mothers' Assistance Fund.

The 728 wage-earning mothers selected for intensive study all had at that time one or more children under sixteen years of age, and all were at work at the time the study was made or had been employed within the year previous. Wage-earning was limited to gainful employment outside of the home. Mothers who were doing work brought from the factory to be done at home or who were working in their own shops or stores did not come within the limits of the study. The investigation therefore includes, (1) women who were in industry before marriage and did not allow their marriage to change their status as wage-earners, (2)

women who returned to industry within a shorter or longer interval after marriage, and (3) women who had their first industrial experience after marriage. These women, then, were not necessarily mothers at the time they became wage-earners.

The first interview in the intensive investigation was taken November 20, 1918, while the preliminary survey was still in progress, and the last interview was taken August 28, 1919.¹ Nothing more recent has appeared. The study entitled, *The Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities*, just published by the Federal Women's Bureau, is an analysis of the 1920 Census returns. And the Children's Bureau publication, *Children of Wage-earning Mothers, a Study of a Selected Group in Chicago*, issued in 1922, presented material gathered also in 1918-19.

The former report, more extensive but much less detailed, provides a background for the more intensive investigations in Philadelphia and Chicago. It serves to prove, moreover, that these studies are representative of conditions in other localities. Basic facts tend to reappear from city to city. Conclusions are not contradictory but in general are startling in repetition.

The study in Chicago follows more closely the method and outline of this book. But as it applies to a group of mothers selected from records of the United Charities and Day Nurseries, it necessarily presents larger elements of dependency. However, the two studies tend to prove that the picture drawn of wage-earning mothers and of the children of wage-earning

¹ The decrease in war time production had no direct effect on the employment of these mothers, although, in a few cases at least, they remained at work because of the irregular employment of the husband. Only six women reported that they gave up wage-earning on the expiration of the war.

mothers in Philadelphia and in Chicago is reflected in all our large industrial centers. Even the description in Chapter II of the six industrial sections of Philadelphia becomes of universal interest. To students of social questions in Philadelphia it gives a vivid conception of the city's population and life, section by section. But it does far more than this. It shows the variations in the size of the burden and the shape of the burden the mother carries for family support, according to the nationality of the residents, or the complexion of the prevailing industry, or the poverty or wealth of the people, or the age of settlement of the community. And so it suggests what may be expected in similar sections of large cities, or in towns of similar character.

In any piece of work resultant from cooperative interest and endeavor, recognition of the contribution made by the associates is difficult. To the Committee on Wage-earning Mothers, severally and collectively, and especially to its chairman, Miss Anna B. Pratt, acknowledgment is due for suggestion and criticism, week by week, and page by page. Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson's careful and expert advice, especially on those sections of the report dealing with the health of mothers and children, has been of inestimable value. That Miss Helen Wallerstein, who for the first year of the study was jointly responsible for its direction, and who gave to the investigation her enthusiasm and her constant and untiring efforts, should have been compelled to withdraw was unfortunate. If the many false assumptions as to the wage-earning mother may be corrected in the mind of the public, this study will have served a part of its purpose. If the conditions portrayed and the facts revealed may become a basis for social program and for social adjustment, the large financial ex-

penditure on research by Seybert Institution not only will have been justified, but may lead the way for similar effort on the part of other organizations primarily devoted to guidance of individuals or small groups.

SUSAN MYRA KINGSBURY.

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

May 20, 1925.

FOREWORD

By HELEN GLENN TYSON

Even to students of social and economic problems the mother in industry has always seemed a kind of "social accident." We have known, vaguely enough, that in the gray stream of women pouring into our industries at dawn there are many married women, and here and there a mother of little children. But in general we have assumed that her presence there is temporary, and of little public significance.

This attitude has had a certain justification in the past in that we have had few real facts about the mother in industry, and few direct contacts with her in person. In some instances sickness, economic need, or child delinquency have brought social workers to her aid, but the great mass of working mothers have made their own adjustments, and have held their place among other working women, inarticulate, preoccupied, asking no favors and receiving none.

During the last decade there has been a new interest in motherhood, and in the conservation of the values of home life for the child; an interest that is scientific rather than sentimental, willing to discover facts and deal with realities. This interest has been an expression of our growing social consciousness, intensified by the ravages of the Great War,—a calamity which brought not only a drastic reduction in the birth-rate in most of the civilized countries, but, through the slaughter of

fathers and potential fathers, has made the rôle of the mother of far greater social importance. It is particularly fortunate, therefore, that, in addition to the publications of the Federal Women's Bureau and the Federal Children's Bureau, this intensive study of *Mothers in Industry* should be issued.

The findings of this investigation are in many instances opposed to current assumption, both on the part of the general public and of those social agencies that are particularly concerned with dependent families. For instance, it is a surprise to learn the slight contact the widows had had with the Mothers' Assistance Fund Law of Pennsylvania. This Law, passed in 1913, is excellent in structure and democratically administered. In Philadelphia, in the year this study was made, the state and county spent over one hundred thousand dollars for this form of aid to widows, and every effort was made to discover and enroll those mothers with little children who, without such help, would be obliged to work away from home. Yet out of the 237 widows of this study, only 38 had applied for pensions, and only 9 were receiving them! Working mothers, as a group, are not applicants for public aid in any form.

Many personal and social values involved in the manifold problems of working mothers cannot be weighed by statistical methods. In many of the 728 families studied some influence disruptive to family life had preceded the mother's entrance into industry. Even in the family showing signs of demoralization after the mother has gone to work it is quite illogical to attempt to point out definite ill effects of her absence, when any possible alternative might have been even more disastrous. As a rule, even the mothers who worked from "choice" were simply making an effort to raise their families above a mere "subsistence" level and to secure

for them education, recreation, a permanent home, or other desirable social advantages. It would be exceedingly interesting to follow this investigation with a supplementary study, based on the intensive "case work method," in an attempt to discover the imponderable gains or losses in family life when the mother is at work.

Certainly the thousands of working mothers, scattered through the eight and a half million working women who are gainfully employed in the United States, constitute a bewildering problem in our industrial society today. The lightening of their burdens does not lie in any direct legislative action affecting their industrial status, as distinct from that of other working women. As long as there is an almost unlimited surplus of cheap woman labor, the very laws designed to aid might handicap them in securing and holding a job. Any alleviation of their lot must be found along other lines.

A partial answer to the child care problem of the working mother may lie in more adequate group supervision of little children. Day Nurseries, necessary and useful as they are today, cannot fill the need. While they show a steady growth in number, even since the passage of the mothers' pension laws, they are too few and located too far from the children's homes to be used conveniently; they suffer from the stigma of charity; and most mothers fear them as they fear all institutions for children. It must be recognized, moreover, that even the provision of the most satisfactory group care for little children would not entirely solve the mother's problem, nor leave her free for full time work in industry. Child care is an intensely individual matter; in a sense, every child is an exceptional child. Under the most carefully regulated conditions childhood presents a series of crises, petty enough in most part, but

potentially grave. Broken nights for the mother are practically unavoidable; the infectious diseases of childhood are still prevalent, and are an effective interruption to group care; hundreds of children through some physical or mental divergence from the normal need constant individual attention.

The ideal arrangement for the mother's employment in many cases would undoubtedly be part-time work. Women in the professions have frequently been able to make this adjustment, but modern industry has thus far developed no technique of adaptation to the social needs of its employees. At the time of the extreme labor shortage during the War, two large industrial plants in Pittsburgh experimented along this line by trying to increase their labor force through the part-time employment of mothers. Both advertised for mothers on this basis, but both dropped these part-time workers as soon as the labor shortage was past. The Employment Department of one of these firms reported that "Widows were their best workers," but the extra time cards were a "bother," and the full time system "much easier to run." The other firm declared that "part time employment chopped up the work too much."

The home work of the mother in industry presents fully as difficult a question. Only second in importance to child care are the buying and preparation of food. School lunches, now so generally provided, sometimes solve the problem of the noon meal for the older children, but in most homes cooking, with its allied processes of marketing and dish-washing, takes from four to seven hours a day. Community kitchens, which came into being during the War, have had a high mortality rate in this and other countries, chiefly, it seems, because they have not been "community" kitchens but have been

run on a commercial basis or to serve too widely scattered families.

Briefly, therefore, under our present form of industrial and social organization there seems little hope that the working mother's burdens will be lightened along the lines indicated; that is, neighborhood care for children is still to be developed and presents many difficulties; housework, especially cooking, remains in the rule o' thumb stage, with no popular demand for simplification through neighborhood cooperation; and part-time work for women is not even considered as a system of employment in industry. It remains therefore to consider the remaining possibility—provision of some form of supplementary financial aid in the home—as the chief hope of relief for the working mother.

The discussion of the family wage for the man, versus the theory of equal pay for equal work is endlessly protracted. Arguments in favor of the conventional family wage disregard such obvious facts as that there is no standard family, as well as the necessity for fixing the wage rate for a group on the basis of skill, standard of living, or bargaining strength. Within the last few years a strong trend of thought in regard to the basic rights of the child has cut across this wage controversy. The adherents of the new view declare that however wage rates may differ, the minimum cost of maintaining a child may be discovered with relative ease; and that no child must be permitted to suffer for lack of the basic necessities of life. The child, that is, should not be subjected to the evil effects of the father's unemployment, illness, death, inadequate wage, moral weakness, or other cause of failure to provide adequately for him. This conviction of the need of safeguarding the health and well-being of the future citizen of the state lies at the basis of the school feeding movement, the mothers'

pension laws, and allied efforts to supplement home care.

In England the Motherhood Endowment movement numbers among its adherents noted economists like Beatrice Webb, who served as a member of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry; leaders in social welfare like A. Maude Royden, Assistant Rector of the London City Temple, and interpreters of the Labor Movement like H. N. Brailsford. In brief, their proposal is to cut the knot of the wage controversy by a direct motherhood endowment, paid directly to mothers of little children by the government, that would ensure the necessities of life to all children. This theory, with all the possible objections, has been extensively discussed elsewhere.¹ Reality is lent to it by the fact that an effective frontal attack was made on poverty when half the women in the country were receiving separation allowances from the Government. In theory, these allowances were supposed to take the place of the wages of the absent men, but with this important difference—the allowances were paid directly to the mothers, and the amounts were regulated according to the size of the family. The plan provides for the payment of 12s. 6d. a week to every mother for eight weeks before confinement, and 5s. for the first child and 3s. 6d. for all subsequent children weekly until the child is five years old. It is estimated that the cost would be approximately 144,000,000 pounds a year, to be raised by direct taxation and paid out through the Post Office.

The main arguments in favor of such a plan are :

1. The work of mothers would be recognized as an important national service.

¹ Stocks, M. D., *The Meaning of Family Endowment*.
Rathbone, Eleanor F., *The Disinherited Family*.

2. Mothers of young children would no longer be forced by poverty to go out to work or to do badly paid work at home.
3. Women would no longer be forced to accept lower wages than men on the ground that men have families to keep.
4. Every child would be assured the basic necessities of life, with an incalculable increase in the health and working efficiency of the next generation.

The family allowances and clearing funds in France are undoubtedly the most interesting and widespread experiment that has yet been tried toward relating the income from industry to the actual needs of the members. It is not a real wage payment, in the usual sense—that is, a recompense for service rendered by the employee to the employer. It is given the name “family wage” because the workers with dependents are granted allowances in addition to their basic wage. This extra-wage is paid by the employer himself to the men entitled to it, so that the contribution may keep its personal character, but he refunds or is refunded the difference between the actual payments to his workmen and the amount of his indebtedness to the association. “In France there are 158 such funds . . . paying out 130 millions of francs annually in allowances, and covering about one million two hundred thousand workers.”²

This system of granting “allocations familiales,” which has been growing quietly and independently in France since 1890, is in reality a form of childhood

²Douglas, Paul H., “Some Objections to the Family Wage System Considered,” *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XXXII, p. I.

endowment, since the grant is based on the actual number of children in a family; although,—in contrast to the American Mothers' Pension movement—it reaches only those mothers whose husbands are actually working.

An adequate discussion of the development of family allowances throughout Europe would include practically all the other countries. In Germany, the main point of difference from France lies in the fact that allowances were first paid by individual firms, the pool system being a later development. Also, dependents other than children are sometimes included. In Belgium, the system closely resembles that of France. A number of other countries—Austria, Denmark, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and Japan—have introduced some form of aid to families, varying greatly in details, but with the basic principle in common.

In Australia and New Zealand, in the widely-heralded experiment with Minimum Wage Legislation, the State, rather than industry, attempted to define wage standards. This effort, beginning with the passage of the Commonwealth Constitution Act in 1907, has been directed toward differentiating between the family wage for the man and the individual wage for the woman. The Industrial Arbitration Courts have had a stormy career, and the conscientious findings of the Commission have shown more plainly than any other attempt the futility of the effort to define a "living wage" in general terms. When the National Party came into power in 1917 in New South Wales it established a Board of Trade whose function was to calculate a "living wage," which was then declared as the minimum upon which the Industrial Arbitration Courts should base their wage awards. This minimum was to be cal-

culated on the needs of a man, wife and two children. In 1919, however, when the Board of Trade attempted to increase this minimum to correspond with the rising prices of necessities, employers were furiously opposed. A compromise was sought in the Maintenance of Children Bill which is in itself an admission that any method of fixing a "family wage" without regard to the actual size of the individual family is bound to be crude and inadequate.

This "Maintenance of Children" bill corresponds in many points to the Family Extra-Wage of France and is based on the same "wage-pool" principle. Because of its many defects, due chiefly to the exigencies of immediate wage-controversy and the haste with which it was drafted, it was at first opposed by both Capital and Labor and perished in Committee. But from both sides it drew wide and favorable discussion of the larger principle on which it was based: "the maintenance of the children of the nation as a whole." Under the new terms of the bill every mother of 3 or more living children shall receive for each child under 14, other than the first, 2, 6s. a week. Allowances are granted only to families whose income is less than the "living wage" for males, as fixed by the Board of Trade on the basis of the living-cost of a man, wife and 2 children. The bill also provides for motherless children, the children of widows and illegitimate children, with certain limitations as to citizenship and residence. The administration of the bill is vested in the Minister for Public Health and Motherhood.

In America, the Mothers Pension Legislation affords the nearest approach to a general recognition of motherhood as a state service. This form of public aid to mothers, while it is granted only to needy families, lifts them out of the Poor Law group. As a rule, the funds

are democratically and impartially administered and it is significant that among the strong supporters of the movement have been the State Federations of Labor. Legislation along this line has been extended to some forty-four states. In form, it is still most diverse, ranging from assistance to widows only to aid to "needy families."

It is impossible to prophesy what form of social legislation in behalf of mothers in industry will ultimately be adopted in the United States. Probably, as in Workmen's Compensation, or Child Labor legislation, there will be as many experimental approaches to the question as there are different states. The Sheppard-Towner Law (1921) carrying a Federal appropriation for state subsidy, has already given an impetus to the study of the problems of motherhood, especially of the lower economic groups from which working mothers come. In the meantime, such studies as the following one, supplemented by the research of Government Bureaus and experiments on the part of social agencies, will lay the sound foundation of fact on which alone sane social progress can be builded.

HELEN GLENN TYSON.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

April 21, 1925.

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PART I

CAUSES WHICH TAKE MOTHERS
INTO INDUSTRY

MOTHERS IN INDUSTRY

CHAPTER I

THE MOTHER'S SHARE IN FAMILY SUPPORT

When the mother of young children leaves her traditional place in the home to earn money in a factory she becomes the subject of heated controversy. By some sincere observers she is regarded as a menace to the race and held accountable for the falling birthrate, declining parental responsibility and decadence in home and family life. To others, equally in earnest, her action is entirely commendable and she is regarded as a champion of woman's rights, establishing the greater personal freedom and financial independence of women.

The emphasis put on these two conflicting points of view has undoubtedly obscured the third or economic aspects of the question. The employment of women, whether mothers or not, means greater competition for place in industry, modification of wage scales for men and women, as well as increased production. Wage-earning by mothers as distinct from other women, moreover, implies a new development in family support. The fundamental reason for this change from one to two adult wage-

earners is to be found in the economic organization of society. Neither the individual woman nor the individual employer can be held responsible for an economic evolution which has brought with it the gainful employment of mothers away from home. It is futile to attempt to deal with the question either by censuring or praising the mother who works without considering why she works.

*The wage-earning mother as a menace
to the race.*

The effect of the mother's employment outside the home, according to the first point of view, is such as to threaten the existence of the family and the nation. In connection with the falling birth rate it is said to be important for the welfare of the race "to study these problems and to foster all industries and spheres of work, in which men of skill and competence are employed at wages sufficient to maintain a family in comfort, according to their several stations of life; to remove as far as possible any temptation to drive women, and especially married women, into the wage-earning category."¹ Women are thus expected to subordinate all other activities to maternity. John Martin claims: "Humanism says that life must not be mutilated to fit industry. Industry must be adjusted to fit life. The woman who begrudges her own children a few years of her undivided attention, perhaps cannot be suppressed, but she need not be admired. Her example is per-

¹For the opinions cited in this paragraph see Whetham, W. C. D. and C. D., *An Introduction to Eugenics*, p. 35, and "Mothers in Industry," *The Survey*, Vol. 35, pp. 720-722.

nicious, her ethics immoral, her selfishness destructive to the nation. Fortunately nature decrees an effective remedy against her permanent influence. She becomes extinct. She is superseded by the other type of woman whose children rise up and call her blessed."

Far-reaching limitations of the contractual rights of women, whether mothers or not, have resulted from this concern about the birth rate. Legislation limiting the hours of labor, employment by night and in dangerous trades, or employment under insanitary conditions and for inadequate wages has been passed and justified as peculiarly applicable to women because of their function as mothers of the race. The United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Oregon ten hour law for women on these grounds.

It thus appears to be quite generally assumed that wage-earning by mothers is detrimental to the race. The proof of this assumption is, however, not yet established. A study of the fertility of marriage in England and Wales shows that among employed women the birth rate as well as the survival rate is lower than among women in the same social class or in the whole population.² Although the findings of the British report cannot be accepted as proof that the same is true in the United States owing to differences in the standard of living and in the racial composition of the population, they are substantiated in part by the experience of these wage-earning mothers. The most outstanding fact emerging from the child bearing experiences of the 728 mothers is

² *Census of 1911 for England and Wales*, Vol. XIII, Pt. 2.

that the proportion of prenatal deaths doubled after they entered industry. The increase in prenatal deaths, by inference, lowers the birthrate. (Chapter XI.)

The facts obtained from the preliminary canvass, on the contrary, suggest that working women have smaller families than other women because the size of the family is a factor which operates to keep women at home. Almost one-third of the women with no children are employed but the proportion decreases steadily as the family grows in size, leaving less than one-sixth of those with five or more children gainfully employed. Wage-earning by mothers may, therefore, be the result and not the cause of a lowered birthrate. (Chapter V.) The survival of live issue, in these 728 families, was apparently not affected by the mother's work.

A study of 23,000 infant deaths in eight cities recently made by Dr. Woodbury for the Children's Bureau shows that the likelihood of death during the first year of life is 40 per cent. higher if the mother is obliged to work outside the home at the time. This statement appears to be a startling indictment of wage-earning by mothers until one considers that mothers of young children seldom work. Of the 1643 children living at home in the 728 families visited only 30 were babies under one year of age. Only 21 babies under one year were found among 964 children in twenty-one Philadelphia day nurseries in 1919. Moreover the higher proportion of infant deaths as reported by Dr. Woodbury may have been due to other causes, as for example economic insufficiency of the family.

The mother leaves her home to go to work only when her child has survived infancy. After the child has passed that age she must balance his need of her personal care against the gains of better food and higher standard of living that her wages would help to secure. One in six of all children under ten years of age was left without care or with the intermittent oversight of a neighbor. The child care problem of the working mother is essentially that of childhood and early adolescence, not infancy. (Chapter X.)

The wage-earning mother as a feminist.

The feminist advocates employment outside the home for wives and mothers because of the opportunities it offers for self-expression and economic independence. Work is regarded as the birthright, not the duty, of women as well as men. According to Olive Schreiner in *Woman and Labour* (p. 68), the modern woman says: "We demand that, in the strange new world that is arising upon the man and woman, where nothing is as it was, and all things are assuming new shapes and relations, that in this new world we also shall have our share of honored and socially useful human toil, our full half of the labor of the Children of Woman."

Gainful employment by mothers is thus interpreted as evidence of the increasing freedom of action exercised by women. When this freedom is fully achieved the woman who restricts her activities to her children and housework will do so from choice, not from necessity. It is presumed as a part of the feminist program that when the mother goes

out of her home to work a portion of her earnings are spent for a substitute at home to do the work she formerly did.

Even when the mother is practically forced by necessity to become a wage-earner the feminist insists that she should have the right to interpret this necessity as she sees fit: "Under present conditions it is generally a misfortune when the mother of a young family is obliged to become a breadwinner, generally, but not always. This is a question for each woman to decide for herself in view of her family circumstances, and no outsider is entitled to lay down a cast-iron law for her on the subject."³

The mother in industry is not consciously a feminist. Only one in ten of these 728 wage-earning mothers said that she started to work outside her home after marriage because she preferred gainful employment to housework. The other nine are working because there is no husband or because his contribution to family support is not adequate. The mother in mills and factories today is forced by financial stringency to become a wage-earner. (Chapter II.)

The wage-earning mother does not relinquish her position as homemaker when she enters industry but rather makes adjustments which enable her to combine the two functions successfully. Not even one mother in twenty attempts to work a full day, every day, in industry and to do all of her housework alone. One group of women, constituting almost half of the

³For the opinions cited in defense of feminism see Schreiner, Olive, *Woman and Labour*; Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, *Woman and Economics*; "The Four Ages of Woman, A Symposium in Rebuttal," *The Survey*, Vol. 36, p. 97.

entire number (43 per cent.), work part time or live with relatives. The first expedient gives them enough free time during the day to manage their homes while the second arrangement relieves them of all responsibility for housework without breaking up the family. The second, and larger, group (57 per cent.) consists of those who work full time and maintain homes of their own. They call upon relatives, neighbors, members of the family, day nurseries and laundries for assistance in carrying on their double job. The services obtained from these sources are largely unpaid so that the mother's contribution to the family income is not greatly reduced thereby. (Chapters V and IX.)

The amount of relief from household cares secured by the mother through these different devices has not been measured in hours. Neither is it known how many hours of household labor are involved daily in maintaining a workingman's standard of living in urban surroundings. It is, therefore, manifestly impossible to state quantitatively how nearly the assistance the mother receives at home balances her expenditure of time in industry. Furthermore, until such a job analysis is made in the home it will not be possible to determine whether housekeeping is a part-time or a full-time job.

The women who earn the highest wages report the greatest amount of paid assistance, a circumstance which suggests that they would all employ substitutes more extensively if they could afford them. Working mothers do not, on the contrary, make much use of the free assistance available from child caring agencies, preferring the services of

relatives and neighbors. If the mother were to pay a full-time substitute for housework and child care she might as well not work, since such assistance would absorb a large part of her wage. The plan which many of these women adopt of securing the part-time services of a neighbor or a lodger does, however, allow them a balance sufficient to make wage-earning worth while. Such an arrangement has the added advantage of giving the second woman a money income without taking her far from home. (Chapter V.)

Relatives are a source of very real help to these mothers in combining housekeeping and wage-earning. Almost all of the mothers who board are living with relatives. Relatives appear as members of the households of more than one-fourth of all mothers who maintain separate homes. They appear most frequently, in over one-third of the cases, in the homes of women who have no husbands and whose financial responsibilities, therefore, are heaviest. Relatives who work contribute money as well as services to the household while those who do not work take the mother's place in the home. (Chapter V.)

These mothers are true exponents of the economic independence of women in that they are doing their best to meet their domestic financial difficulties. They find the economic status of their respective families unsatisfactory and, recalling their industrial experience before marriage, they go back to the work by which they formerly supported themselves. (Chapter VII.)

Whether or not the tendency for women to return

to industry after their children are born is increasing cannot be determined from the data available. The 1920 census shows, however, that in the United States (between 1890 and 1920), the proportion of married women who were gainfully employed almost doubled. The percentages by decade are: 1890, 4.6; 1900, 5.6; 1910, 10.7; and 1920, 9.0. The proportion decreased between 1910 and 1920 and the number actually employed increased less than 30,000. The shift during this decade in occupations employing married women is, however, probably more significant than the decrease in the percentage of employment. The number employed in agriculture decreased over 300,000 (46 per cent.) and the number in domestic and personal service was reduced by more than 20,000 (3.5 per cent.). The number of women in clerical occupations in 1920, on the contrary, is almost four times the number in 1910. Manufacturing and mechanical industries have also shown a substantial increase over the 1910 figures (136,000 or 41 per cent.).⁴

The husband's wage as a family wage.

The assumption has prevailed in recent years that, although raising a family is the joint responsibility of husband and wife, the husband alone supplies the money income. He earns a wage by working outside the home while the wife produces economic and spiritual values within the home. Two corollaries

⁴ *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. IV, Ch. VI.* The 1920 data were collected in January, thereby reducing the number reported in agriculture.

arise from this proposition: first, every man's wage is a family wage and, second, a woman's place is in the home.

The husband's wage is thus supposed to supply all the money needed by the family in the industrial population. As the family becomes more and more dependent upon a money income, owing to the ever increasing consumption of factory rather than home-made articles, the burden put upon the husband becomes more and more insupportable. Housework today is practically limited to service rather than manufacture and the mother's contribution is correspondingly restricted. The husband, therefore, is forced to assume the greater part of the responsibility for his own support as well as that of another adult and one or two children.

According to this theory that the husband's wage is the family wage every woman is regarded as dependent upon the wages of some man, either husband, father or brother. When she finds it necessary or expedient to work outside her home she is regarded as a temporary worker with no one but herself to support. Her wage is, therefore, lower than that of a man doing the same or similar work. Innumerable examples of dual wage scales, one for men and a lower one for women, can be found. When she does not work outside her home her duties there are supposed to keep her busy. These duties, however, do not invariably take all her time. Olive Schreiner analyzes the field of woman's ancient and traditional labors and finds that "fully three-fourths of it have shrunk away forever, and that the remaining fourth still tends to shrink."

If the wife continues to stay at home her function as a producer of goods is greatly reduced by the shift of industrial processes from the household to the factory. In the wage-earning group her comparative leisure is not an asset and may become a calamity. Its standard of life does not require so much non-economic service from the mother as that of the more fortunate groups. On the other hand, she cannot invest her time and ingenuity in sufficient economies and makeshifts to make up for the shortage of money income earned by her husband. Either the family expenditures must be reduced beyond the limit of comfort and decency or additional sources of money income must be found.

The dictum that a woman's place is in the home has not always implied the economic dependence of women. Under the heading "The Growth of the Dependent Family" Miss Rathbone devotes a chapter to the gradual reduction of the contribution possible from wife and children under modern systems of production and restrictive legislation.⁵ Her conclusion is (p. 7) that "In any case, it is plain that the labours of the children and their mothers, both in production for use and production for exchange, must have reduced the financial burden of fatherhood to a modest level, at least of all who were sufficiently near subsistence level to be tempted to use this resource. When it was gradually withdrawn from them, partly by protective legislation and partly by the changes in processes and the growth of towns which diminished the opportunities of production for direct use, the responsibility for the support of the

⁵ *The Disinherited Family.*

family was thrown on men. Those who resented this were blamed for their short-sighted selfishness."

Under the system of household production practised in America in colonial days and later the family was able to provide the majority of the necessities of its existence. But few things were bought, those which could not be made by the group or for which they could find no substitutes. The mother, as a rule, was responsible for producing clothing and food for the family. She prepared the yarn, spun the cloth and made the garments which the members of the family wore. She churned the butter, baked the bread from flour which was ground either at home or by a neighbor, and preserved foods in various ways for winter use. She provided the household with such necessities as soap and candles. Her husband produced the raw materials and she "manufactured" the articles which the family consumed. The wife was thus definitely a producer, a part of the nation's labor supply and she shared the responsibility for the support of the family with her husband.⁶

Although the conditions described above may obtain today in remote and isolated communities, household production is a thing of the past. The average modern housekeeper would feel that she was being imposed upon if she were asked to make soap or candles and the average family would feel that its standard of living was gone forever if it used the home-made product. She cannot compete with the butcher, the baker and the electric light

⁶ Abbott, Edith, *Women in Industry*.

company, so she buys their product in such quantities and of such quality as her husband's wage permits. Factory products thus supplant home-made commodities, factory labor competes with and displaces household labor, and the family income, instead of being largely in kind as formerly, must now take the form of money to pay for the ready-made article. The family is increasingly dependent upon money while the labor resources of its members can be but partially utilized in home production. The less it can produce at home, the more it must spend.

The struggle to live on the husband's wage, in most industrial families, is a failure. A preliminary canvass of six industrial sections of Philadelphia revealed the fact that the majority of 11,073 families were not supported by the husband alone.⁷ Fifty-five per cent. of these families have income from wages of other members of the household or from lodgers or receive nothing at all from the husband. Only six per cent. of this entire group was of the conventional statistical type, husband, wife and three children under sixteen years of age, supported by the husband alone.

The findings of the intensive study indicate the importance of the mothers' contributions to family incomes. They are working really because of financial need. Over one-half started to work because they did not have sufficient income from their hus-

⁷ Kingsbury, Susan M., "Relation of Women to Industry," *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 141-158. The results of the preliminary canvass are fully discussed in this paper.

bands or none at all. More than a third were widowed or caring for sick husbands. Altogether 90 per cent. came from homes where the financial status was not satisfactory when the woman began wage-earning. The wages the husbands earn, the family incomes when the mother began work, and the family incomes now the mother is working, show that the family income would be below the limit of comfort and decency if the mother did not earn. (Chapter IV and VI.) If the mother stopped working where the family income is between \$20 and \$30 a week (less than a minimum standard) it would be cut one-half; where it is less than \$20 it would often disappear altogether. Almost one-third of the women with husbands earn half or more of the family income. Either the mother or some one else must earn, and in these families, there is no one else to do it, no other way to live.

A study made by the Women's Bureau of the responsibility for family support assumed by over 2,000 workers in an industrial plant leads to this conclusion: "These figures put the man and the woman wage-earner, in whatever relationship they may bear to the family, on a plane of responsibility for the family expenses much more nearly equal than has been generally supposed to be the case" (p. 34). And again: "It was not usually a question of the entire support of others; only 3.2 per cent. of the women and 31.2 per cent. of the men were found to be carrying alone the economic responsibility of the family, but every one was contributing something to the family of which he or she was an integral part" (p. 31). Complete sup-

port of the family by one wage-earner, therefore, is not the rule in the industrial population.⁸

The future basis of family support.

What conclusion is to be drawn for the future from the premise that the husband does not, and never has, supported the family without the contribution of his wife and children? Has this fact any bearing on the daily struggle of the wage-earning group to make ends meet? Those who discuss the problem of family support fall into two groups: first, those who believe that the husband's wage ought to be made the family wage and second, those who wish to drop the principle entirely.

The first group, those whose ideal is a wage for the husband sufficiently generous to allow for the support of the family, advocate several methods for its realization. One of the simplest devices, theoretically, is to eliminate all women whether married or not, from employment. The elimination of women from industry is to be achieved either by government action or by agreement with employers. It is confidently believed by some that without the competition of woman's cheap labor it will be possible to raise men's wage and that the increase will be sufficient to provide for the unemployed women and children.⁹

⁸ United States, Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Bulletin* No. 30. The classification of the men by marital status shows 44.1 per cent. single; 53.4 per cent. married; 2.5 per cent. widowed, separated or divorced. For the women workers the percentages are: single, 70.2; married, 23.1; widowed, separated or divorced, 6.8.

⁹ The following quotation from the *New York Times*, November 28, 1921, shows an attempted application of this prin-

A second proposal for bringing the cost of family support into harmony with the husband's wage is to reduce the size of the family. A Denver judge is said to have precipitated "a storm of mingled approval and protest from physicians, clergymen, lawyers, clubwomen and social workers" a year or two ago by recommending that the mother of five children submit to sterilization or face the alternative of having her children taken away from her because social workers testified that her home was squalid and her children undernourished. Prominent women are said to have indorsed the recommendation of the judge while ministers, physicians, and lawyers took the opposite view. This suggestion proposes a new ideal of parental responsibility, an ideal which is commendable, whatever may be said for the proposed method of realization. The family's standard of consumption is limited by its purchasing power. The same argument might well apply to its standard of reproduction.

The legal minimum family wage is a device for forcing wages up to a family subsistence level. The initiative is to be taken by the state rather than by private enterprise. The minimum wage scale for men, as established in Australia and New Zealand, raises the payment of all men to a standard sufficient to support a family regardless of the fact that the

ciple: "Detroit, Michigan, October 11. Highland Park, an adjacent city, has decided to strike from its payroll all women employees. Married women were recently ordered discharged from city positions and last night the council adopted a resolution prohibiting officials from hiring unmarried women in the future. The council was prompted in its action by the large number of men out of employment, it is said."

worker may or may not have such dependents. Men who have no dependents and women who have dependents are disregarded as unusual cases of which cognizance cannot be taken in the law. The law assumes that all men do or eventually will have some one dependent upon them and that women do not and never will.¹⁰

The proposal of the second group is to drop the fiction of the husband's wage as a family wage. Two methods are suggested: first, industry is to supply an extra-wage for those of either sex supporting dependents or, second, the state is to provide for the care of children.

The first plan for supplementing wages in the interest of family support was introduced in France in 1916 and met with immediate success. It has since spread to all the great industrial centers, including Paris, and has been extended to public works.¹¹ A similar development took place in Germany at about the same time, the plan being adopted by the Krupp's in 1916. Austria, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, also offer examples of similar experiments. The principle of this extra-wage payment is quite simple although there are many variations in form and method. Allowances (in addition to wages) are paid monthly to employees on the basis of their dependents. Employers in a given industry

¹⁰ Commons, John R., and Andrews, John B. *Principles of Labor Legislation*, Ch. XV. See also *The Disinherited Family*, pp. 66-185, where the failure of this plan is clearly outlined and explained.

¹¹ Cestre, Charles. "The Family Extra-wage in France." *The Survey*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 239-240. See also *The Disinherited Family*, Pt. II

form a pool and each one pays according to the number of his employees or to the total amount of his wage bill. All extra-wage payments to workers are made from this fund.

The second method, of providing for dependents a direct grant from the state to parents, has been advocated for a number of years in Great Britain by Mrs. Sidney Webb and her associates. Miss Rathbone, in *The Disinherited Family*, elaborates these proposals and shows the practicability of either occupational or governmental schemes. She urges the state plan as a far more complete treatment of the question, with more economical administration and elimination of friction between industries. It recognizes parenthood as a service to the state, rather than to industry. The occupational system, however, makes possible a gradual adoption of the plan with greater opportunity for experimentation.

These two proposals no doubt contain the germ of a new basis of family support. For the present such a marked departure from individual support is not to be expected. The situation does not stand still, however, and day by day we are unconsciously shaping our future attitude on the question.

The findings of this study point to the following conclusions relative to the employment of married women and bearing on this controversy:

1. The wage-earning mother is forced into industry. The husband's wage is not a family wage but husband and wife are jointly responsible for providing the money income of the family. The exclusion of the mother from industry is

not the solution of the family's problem. If she does not work, the family cannot support itself. There are no other sources of income within these families which could be substituted for the wage-earning ability of the mother.

2. The mother who goes into industry retains her function as a home maker. This combination of wage-earning and housekeeping is made possible either through part-time work, through boarding with another family, through the cooperation of relatives, neighbors, members of the family, or social and commercial agencies or by carrying the double burden alone. Few mothers, however, combine a full-time job in industry with the entire responsibility of a home without assistance.
3. Industry makes few concessions to the working mother because of her responsibilities at home. She is employed full-time in mills and factories. Part-time work is found in non-industrial establishments, largely domestic and personal service. Special arrangements for nursing mothers, such as free time during the day or nurseries in the plant, are unknown. Such provisions would be superfluous for these mothers, however, since they rarely work when their children are babies.
4. The effects of wage-earning, as practiced by these mothers, do not warrant interference with their activities. In considering the relation of wage-earning to family welfare one must keep in mind constantly the standard of

living customary in the social group represented. These women are a part of the wage-earning population living in the industrial sections of a large city. Their houses look like those of their neighbors, their ideal of health, education, child care and family responsibilities does not seem to vary largely from those which prevail in their communities, although no norm has yet been established. The conditions which exist in their homes, therefore, cannot be charged exclusively to wage-earning. They are a part and parcel of the environment of the workingman's family.

5. The continued presence of women in industry after marriage necessitates a new attitude toward employment. When it is recognized by all wage-earning women that they are not temporary workers, that marriage does not put an end to their industrial experience, the principal obstacle to their solidarity will have been removed. Once fully conscious of their tenure in industry, women will be able to safeguard the gainfully employed mother. The girl who enters industry today is the wage-earning mother of a decade hence.

CHAPTER II

WHY MOTHERS BECOME WAGE-EARNERS

Reasons for wage-earning according to the contribution of the husband.

Here is the wage-earning mother's own interpretation of the crisis which caused her to leave her traditional place in the home. In stating her reason for working outside the home after marriage, the mother is concerned only with the immediate and practical issues which motivated her.¹ She views her situation as an isolated case, not as part of a social movement. To ascertain the true causes which take the mother of young children into industry, however, obscure as well as obvious factors must be recognized and evaluated. The neighborhood in which she lives, her personal characteristics and those of her husband, her responsibilities at home and the economic status of the family must be taken into account. Each of these factors modifies her reaction to wage-earning. Although the reasons which she has given for employment outside of the home do not take cognizance of these

¹ The group designated wage-earning mothers includes only the 728 mothers of the intensive study who have been at work away from home within the year previous to the interview and while at least one of their children was under 16 years of age.

impersonal forces, they do constitute a logical point of departure for the study of wage-earning.

The collective experience of these 728 mothers shows that six reasons are immediately responsible for wage-earning. These reasons for the initial appearance in industry of married women, in order of frequency, are: first, insufficient wage of the husband (29 per cent.); second, death of the husband (22 per cent.); third, illness of the husband (14 per cent.); fourth, desertion by the husband (13 per cent.); fifth, non-support by the husband (11 per cent.); and sixth, personal preference for gainful employment outside of the home (11 per cent.). With the possible exception of the women who said they went to work from choice, the reason as stated indicates that the responsibility for wage-earning is normally assumed to belong to the husband and father. These reasons, with the exception already noted, are merely explanations for the complete or partial substitution of support by the wife for support by the husband.

Families in which the husband was contributing when the wife went to work.

The 79 women who chose to work (though only 11 per cent. of the total) are the most self-sufficient, financially, of the wage-earning mothers. They represent unbroken homes whose chief wage-earner, the husband, is able and willing to support his family. They are the women who, in their own proud phrase, "don't have to work." There is a strongly economic tinge, however, to their expressed motive for wage-earning. They fall mostly into two groups,

those who are earning money in order to use it immediately and those who are earning money in order to save it.

The first group, drawn largely from among the native-born women, wishes its own money to dispose of as it sees fit. The money which the wife earns is usually spent for "extras" which the husband cannot supply. These additional commodities, however, would be regarded as necessities in more fortunate households; for example, the money is frequently used to send a daughter to business college, to give a son a year or two in high school, or to send the younger children to the country for a few weeks during the summer months. One mother started to work to buy clothes for a vacation, insisting that she "would rather work than miss the vacation." The husband in a Kensington home proudly displayed a player piano but his wife was far less enthusiastic about it. "Who would pay for it," she asked, "if I didn't work?"

Wage-earning appeals to some mothers as an opportunity for wider social contacts as well as a means of raising the standard of living. An Irish woman says that she likes the "company and fun" of the shop as well as the money she earns. Some women say that they turned to wage-earning as a means of filling their time. A Serbian woman expressed this view very concisely: "No children then, not much housework, why not?" Another woman, in the same vein, declares that she chose wage-earning as an alternative to "sitting around all day." A mother whose child is in the hospital finds that when she is shoveling all day at \$20 a week she has

no time to worry. Mothers with sons in the army also turned to wage-earning as a means of keeping their hands and minds occupied. Some women stated that they found factory work more congenial than housework and would rather pay someone to do the latter for them.

The second group of mothers working from preference consists of those who say that they are working "to help husband." This group is concerned about the future when the husband will be no longer able to earn. A Polish woman said she wanted "a lot of money in the bank." Others are definitely saving to buy a house. The women who express this joint sense of responsibility are largely foreign-born. They have come, for the most part, from eastern European countries where industrialization is not so far advanced as in this country.² They are accustomed to a social and economic order in which the family is still the unit of production as well as the unit of consumption. Time alone will tell if this ideal of joint responsibility for the financial contribution will become permanent among the members of this group in the United States or if it will disappear as the group takes on American customs and ideals.

These 79 women who went to work from choice accepted employment because they felt an obligation to their families, not because they saw in employment an opportunity to evade responsibilities at home. They were motivated by an enlarged vision

²For a discussion of home life in south Europe see BALCH, EMILY G., *Our Slavic Citizens*, and PALMER, FRANCIS H. E., *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country*.

of their usefulness to their families. They cannot be accused of consciously neglecting a houseful of young children in order to become wage-earners. The facts for the 69 cases reporting are:

Families with no children	24
Families with one child under 10, none over	15
Families with children over 10, one or more under	15
Families with no children under 10	15

Adult relatives, either in the household or a few doors down the street (22), or day nurseries (2) assumed care of the children for more than half of these families. These were the families with children under ten years of age. When there were older children, ten years of age and over, they were usually left to take care of themselves (21 out of 30 families).

The woman who says she enters industry from choice when she has a husband who is supporting the family and children under 16 years of age, is seldom to be found in the community. The preliminary house-to-house survey of six industrial sections in Philadelphia revealed 7359 women with living husbands and at least one child 16 years of age or under. Of this number 14 per cent. (1004) were gainfully employed at home or away. Only one in 10 of this 14 per cent. is at work from choice, on the basis of the findings of the intensive study of 728 mothers. Gainful employment, even in the most industrial sections of Philadelphia, therefore, attracts only between one and two per cent. of all women whose husbands are living at home and who have children under 16 years of age.

How prophetic these 79 women who became wage-earners from choice are of the future trend of events is mere conjecture. The increased demand of the world for production and of industry for workers may cause such an adjustment of industrial and social conditions as will tend increasingly to take mothers of young children away from the home. It is possible that industry will adjust its requirements as to hours and conditions of work to suit the convenience of the mother with young children.

Twenty-nine per cent. of the entire group studied said they entered industry because the husband's wage was inadequate to meet the family needs. While the necessity for wage-earning is open to question in the case of the women who said they began work from choice, there is no doubt that these 208 women were forced to work in order to make ends meet. They fall into two groups first, those who find the husband's wage inadequate only when an emergency arises and second, those who must work to meet even the ordinary running expenses of the household.

The families of the first group of women are the marginal families. When the husband is out of work for a short time on strike, or when he goes to another town in search of a job there is no surplus to cover the deficit. Sometimes the extra burden of a dependent relative in the home is the last straw. Again, new furniture may be the additional expense which sends the mother to work. Sickness of members other than the husband, however, is the emergency which arises most frequently. It entails doctor bills, special foods, medicines, all

of which are unprovided for by the usual income. Perhaps the most remarkable illustration of the impetus to work afforded by ill health is that of the woman who determined to save money for her own operation. She felt so much better after the operation that she continued in industry!

The women who find the husband's wage insufficient only in time of emergencies are comparatively fortunate. The other women in the low income group cannot make ends meet even when there is no particular emergency. Every day that the rent falls due is an emergency in their households. When the wife says that "times are hard," or that her husband "is not earning much" it is impossible to judge where the responsibility for that state of affairs lies. It may be that her idea of what constitutes "much" is exaggerated, it may be that the husband is inadequately paid, or that he is an inferior workman. A day laborer of forty, with three children under nine years of age, a dependent father and a wage of \$22 cannot, perhaps, be said to be underpaid by industry but his situation certainly raises the question of the proper basis for family support.

There are, however, certain conditions making for low wages for which the husband is directly responsible. In these instances the mother attributes the insufficient income available for the family to the convivial habits of her husband. These are the husbands who are more or less irregular in their work, who are more or less unemployed. They are the men who are dismissed by the investigators with the brief comment, "works, but spends money

on drink." They are the men according to their wives who "never did steady work."

*Families in which the husband was living
at home but not contributing.*

The husband who is living but not contributing to the family support unmistakably represents an abnormal condition of family life. The family is denied its normal support in some instances by the physical inability of the chief wage-earner, in others, by his mental or moral incapacity to support his family. These two circumstances, together, accounted for the initial appearance in industry of nearly two-fifths (180), of the women whose husbands were at home, and one-fourth (25 per cent.) of the 728 women studied. In fairness to the husbands it must be said that they were more often physically incapacitated than irresponsible, since 14 per cent. were ill, and 11 per cent. were irresponsible.

The significance to the family of the illness of the chief wage-earner is well illustrated by the story of Mr. Rhody, a skilled workman in an oil refining plant, who two years before had a severe accident. He was in bed for over a year, the company paying his family \$10 a week and supplying medical attention meanwhile. At the time of the visit to his home he had recovered sufficiently to do odd jobs about the plant irregularly but he will never be able to resume his former work. When he was hurt, Mrs. Rhody became a cleaner on night shift in a large office building half an hour's ride from home. She works from nine in the

evening until six in the morning. Two of the four children are in school all day, one a part of the day, while the other is below school age. Her anxiety for the safety of her children keeps her awake all day. As a result of Mr. Rhody's accident, his wife says that she has been working all night and sleeping about two hours a day for the past two years. She expects to follow this program indefinitely.

The non-supporting husband is similar, on the one hand, to those husbands in the low income group whose behavior leaves something to be desired, and on the other hand, to the deserter. He is distinguished from the deserter by the fact that he continues to live with the family. The women do not waste words on the conduct of non-contributing husbands. "No good" is a phrase which sums up many a case, and does it as effectively as many words. Drink is the wife's explanation of most cases, occasionally varied by combination with gambling, infidelity and laziness.³

Families in which the husband was not living at home or was deceased.

Deserted working women represent homes as surely and definitely deprived of their chief wage-earners as are those of the widowed working women. Notwithstanding the assumptions to the contrary in previous discussions and programs, every evidence in this study bears out this assertion.

³ These husbands belong to the class discussed by COLCORD, JOANNA C., in *Broken Homes*, Chapter VIII.

Several of the deserted women admitted at the close of the interview that they pass among their neighbors as widows.

Desertion and death of the husband sent into industry more than one-third (36 per cent.) of all the women studied. More than one-third of this group of homes in turn were broken by desertion, separation or divorce (13 per cent. of the total). It is impossible to judge of the conditions under which the separation or desertion took place from the data furnished by the mother. Drink and infidelity on the part of the husband appear to have been attendant circumstances. When the chief wage-earner is no longer a member of the family the mother of young children has practically no choice: remunerative employment of one kind or another becomes a question not of advisability but of necessity.

The death of the husband presents an economic issue which cannot be ignored. The response was immediate in the case of most widows. Three-fourths of them went to work within six months after the death of the husband. There are no data to show exactly what temporary measures were adopted by those who did not enter industry within six months. Some of them appear to have lived with relatives for a time but with the understanding that it was only a temporary arrangement. Mrs. King and her little girl were living at home with her parents. All went well as long as her mother was living. Upon the death of the latter, however, the father made her feel that she was not welcome. She is now supporting a home of her own in complete independence of her father and brothers.

Permanency and regularity of married women workers.

The regularity of the mother as a wage-earner depends upon the status of the husband in the home. The mothers who are the chief wage-earners have been employed most continuously. The women who have living and contributing husbands, on the other hand, show the greatest tendency to stop working now and then. The women who began to work because of low incomes have been most irregular. Nearly one-fourth of them have stopped working for a longer or shorter period since they became wage-earners. The women who prefer to work have been almost as irregular since one-fifth of them have worked intermittently. The figures for the 725 who reported reasons for working, are:

	<i>Mothers Employed</i>	
	<i>Constantly</i>	<i>Intermittently</i>
Mothers working because of insufficient wage of husband	160	48
Mothers working because of death of husband	156	8
Mothers working because of illness of husband	97	4
Mothers working because of desertion of husband	82	12
Mothers working because of personal preference	63	16
Mothers working because of non-support by husband	70	9

There is no evidence to indicate that these women are in mills or factories in response to the high wages of recent years. Wage-earning is not a recent event in the lives of the 706 who reported on this

point. One hundred eighty-two of them (25.8 per cent.) had their first industrial experience as married women before 1910, and 161 (22.8 per cent.) entered industry during the next five years while slightly over half, 363, during 1915 or since. The effect of the war on the employment of this particular group of mothers cannot be measured. Only six of them left industry because of the expiration of war-work.

It must be borne in mind that the mother's statement of the reason which operated to send her to work after marriage may not portray the real cause of wage-earning nor the conditions which exist in her home. According to their own statements, however, practically 90 per cent. of these mothers represent homes whose financial conditions were not satisfactory to them at the time they became wage-earners. The women who went to work because of low income, together with those who worked from preference, represent homes least dependent upon the wife for support. They are the women who find it easiest to dispense with wage-earning and consequently they form the most fluctuating source of labor. The women whose husbands are living but unable to work through illness or who are unwilling to support their families represent a transitional phase. If the husband dies they pass into the widowed group which feels the force of necessity to its fullest extent. If, on the other hand, the husband's unwillingness or inability to support his family is only temporary, they join the women who work from choice or to supplement the husband's earnings.

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORHOOD ON WAGE-EARNING

One in five of eleven thousand married women in six industrial sections of Philadelphia is gainfully employed. More than two thousand married women have demonstrated within the year of the study that the wife may carry on production outside the home in addition to her responsibilities in the home. The woman who marries does not, by grace of that fact, renounce her position as a wage-earner. The sphere of one-fifth of the married women of these selected industrial groups has ceased to be entirely bounded by household duties.

The amount of gainful employment among wives and mothers is not uniform throughout the different sections of the city covered by the survey, as is evident from Table I. Only 15 per cent. of the women in the Southeast and Northwest sections of the city have assumed responsibilities for earning in addition to their household duties while fully 25 per cent. of the married women of Kensington seek gainful employment either in the home or in factory and mill. Since the intensive study of mothers in industry is concerned only with those who work away from home, it is of utmost significance that

twice as many work away from home (14 per cent.) as are employed at home (7 per cent.) in either industrial or commercial home work. The proportion employed away from home varies from nearly 17 per cent. in Kensington to eight per cent. in the Southeast section.

TABLE I.—GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT OF MARRIED WOMEN AND WIDOWS LIVING IN SIX SECTIONS OF PHILADELPHIA ¹

Section	Total	Women employed			Women not gainfully employed
		Away from home	At home in		
			Factory work	Com-mercial work	
Number					
Total	10,838	1,503	136	605	8,594
Kensington .	3,107	517	46	212	2,332
Southwest ..	2,302	365	28	76	1,833
Northwest ..	1,644	205	19	27	1,393
Northeast ...	1,709	245	28	128	1,308
Southeast ...	1,271	100	15	80	1,076
Manayunk ..	805	71		82	652
Per Cent.					
Total	100.0	13.9	1.2	5.6	79.3
Kensington .	28.7	16.6	1.5	6.8	75.1
Southwest ..	21.2	15.9	1.2	3.3	79.6
Northwest ...	15.2	12.5	1.2	1.6	84.7
Northeast ...	15.8	14.4	1.6	7.5	76.5
Southeast ...	11.7	7.9	1.2	6.3	84.6
Manayunk ..	7.4	8.8		10.2	81.0

¹ Of the total of 12,082 households visited, 613 are excluded because the marital and industrial status of the women was not known and 631 because they contained no married women.

The location of the section and especially its accessibility from the center of the city and from other industrial districts influences the opportunity for employment. The size of the section, its industries, their location with reference to the homes of the workers, all seem to modify the percentage of gainful employment among married women. The general standard of living in the section, the ethnic elements represented and the prevalence of broken homes, each may account, in a measure, for the frequency of wage-earning.

Although the sections covered by the house-to-house canvass do not form a significant proportion of the entire population of the city, they no doubt include a fair sample of its industrial neighborhoods.¹ They are well distributed and reveal different aspects of the workingman's neighborhood. They include the family living in a highly indus-

¹ The conditions which surround the married woman and mother in each section have been operating upon her for a long time since these women do not seem to change from one part of the city to another. Only five per cent. of the wage-earning mothers of the intensive study are known to have moved from one section to another since they have been married. The information on this point was secured for only the past five years in many instances. Although these families move more or less frequently from one house to another their wanderings are confined to a comparatively small area. If the section of the city has a distinctive name it has been retained. The other sections are designated by their relation to Broad and Market Streets. The mothers from nurseries, in some instances, fall outside of the section surveyed, but for convenience have been included with the nearest section. Kensington and the Southwest section are the only ones which have been extended in this manner. The Northwest district was not completely canvassed. A practically complete canvass was made in the Southwest section, while every house in the other four sections was covered.

trialized center, Kensington, within easy access to the heart of the city as well as the family living in practical isolation in Manayunk. Home life in the tumble-down tenements of the water front districts (Southeast) is carried on under conditions very different from those in the Northwest section where the one-family house does not have to compete for standing room with the factory and store. The Kensington, Northeast and Manayunk sections are distinctly mill and factory districts. The other three sections, Southwest, Northwest and Southeast do not include so many industrial plants.

Employment of wives and mothers in Kensington.

Kensington, centering about the intersection of Kensington and Lehigh Avenues, is a neighborhood organized for industry.² Its textile mills are its most distinctive feature, although there are many other types of industrial plants within the section.

² This section is formed of three parts. The first part, which forms a comparatively small part of ward 19, begins at the corner of Second Street and Lehigh Avenue. The boundary continues east on Lehigh Avenue to Kensington, which follows in a southwesterly direction to York Street, and then continues west on York Street to Second, and north to the original point.

The second part of the Kensington section is contiguous to the first part on Kensington Avenue. Its boundary begins at Kensington at Lehigh Avenue, continues southeast on Lehigh, where Aramingo Street forms the eastern boundary and as far as East Huntington Street. The boundary line follows the latter until it intersects Kensington. It forms not more than one-sixth the area of ward 31.

The third part of this section lies to the north, along Kensington Avenue in the southeast corner of ward 33. Its boundary begins at Boudinot and Clearfield Streets at its northwest corner, continues east on the latter as far as

The textile mills, in addition to being the most numerous, are especially important in this connection because they afford employment suitable to women workers and too they are to be found in all parts of the section. The proximity of the industrial plants is shown by Table II since over two-thirds of the wage-earning mothers of this section are able to walk to work. They apparently have taken advantage of the industrial opportunities nearest at hand since almost four-fifths, 79 per cent., of the mothers are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries while only one-third of the working women of the city 15 years of age and over were so employed in 1920. (Table III.)

TABLE II—TIME SPENT IN WALKING OR RIDING TO WORK ¹

Section	Total	Mothers who walk		Mothers who ride	
		Less than 15 minutes	15 minutes or more	Less than 15 minutes	15 minutes or more
Total	696	231	163	35	267
Kensington	227	93	59	15	60
Southwest	203	48	30	11	114
Northwest	78	19	13	2	44
Northeast	71	26	12	3	30
Southeast	70	14	38	2	16
Manayunk	47	31	11	2	3

¹ This table excludes 32 of the 728 women who did not give complete information.

Kensington Avenue which it follows up to the point at which it crosses C Street. C Street becomes the western boundary at Indiana Avenue. The boundary line follows this street to Boudinot, which then becomes the western boundary of ward 33.

The one-family, two or three story red brick house, so characteristic of Philadelphia, is omnipresent in Kensington. These houses, row upon row, with grocery stores or an occasional drug store marking the four corners of the squares, seem to look upon the mills and factories in resentful silence. The homes and industrial plants are not in the same square, as a rule, but a mill or factory may be the view which greets the worker from across the street as he looks out of his front window. On the business streets, notably on Kensington Avenue, families often occupy apartments above the shops but they form a comparatively small proportion of the whole population.

TABLE III—GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED BY MOTHERS IN EACH SECTION

Section	Total	Mothers whose occupational group is					
		Manufacturing and mechanical		Trade and clerical		Domestic and personal	
		Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
Total	728	459	63.1	54	7.4	215	29.5
Kensington .	238	187	78.6	10	4.2	41	17.2
Southwest ...	208	100	48.1	24	11.5	84	40.4
Northwest ..	82	39	47.6	15	18.3	28	34.1
Northeast ..	81	47	58.0	2	2.5	32	39.5
Southeast ...	71	41	57.8	2	2.8	28	39.4
Manayunk ..	48	45	93.7	1	2.1	2	4.2

The section abounds in small back streets interspersed between the principal ones, making it nec-

essary for the dwellings to be almost back to back. The families make up for the lack of a back yard by using the streets as community recreation centers as well as general dumping grounds for refuse and blue-tinged wash water. The refuse is collected once a week but that service hardly mitigates the unpleasant condition of the street on the seventh day. Although the appearance of some of the back streets is far from prepossessing, especially at night with the very ineffective system of lighting which prevails, this section cannot be stigmatized as a slum area. It is a section characterized by a self-supporting industrial population.

The wage-earning mother's family usually lives on a back street but the house is neither better nor worse than its neighbors. Over half (56 per cent.) of the wage-earning mothers live in six-room houses. The general level of rents, between \$10 and \$15 a month, indicates a comparatively good type of house and a fairly high standard of living.

TABLE IV—RENT PAID BY MOTHERS IN EACH SECTION¹

Section	Total	Mothers paying weekly rent			
		Under \$10	\$10 to \$15	\$15 to \$20	\$20 and over
Total	590	203	257	106	24
Kensington	195	56	106	30	3
Southwest	172	26	89	45	12
Northwest	53	10	15	24	4
Northeast	69	35	25	6	3
Southeast	67	52	13		2
Manayunk	34	24	9	1	

¹ Because of incomplete information this table excludes 10 of the 600 mothers who maintain separate households.

(Table IV.) In practically all cases the rent covers a separate house.

Over three-fourths of the population of Kensington are native of native parentage (36 per cent.) or native of foreign and mixed parentage (39 per cent.). The foreign-born element of the population (25 per

TABLE V—NATIVITY OF WAGE-EARNING MOTHERS IN EACH SECTION

Section	Total	Native mothers with		Foreign-born mothers
		Native fathers	Foreign fathers ¹	
Number				
Total	728	249	190	289
Kensington ..	238	102	76	60
Southwest ...	208	86	57	65
Northwest ...	82	25	35	22
Northeast ...	81	14	10	57
Southeast	71	6	6	59
Manayunk ...	48	16	6	26
Per Cent.				
Total	100.0	34.2	26.1	39.7
Kensington ..	32.7	42.9	31.9	25.2
Southwest ...	28.6	41.3	27.4	31.3
Northwest ...	11.3	30.5	42.7	26.8
Northeast ...	11.1	17.3	12.3	70.4
Southeast ...	9.7	8.4	8.4	83.2
Manayunk ...	6.6	33.3	12.5	54.2

¹ This group includes women with fathers born in Germany, 46; England, 21; Scotland, 10; France, 2; Switzerland, 2; Italy, 4; Austria-Hungary, 2; Cuba, 1; Portugal, 1; Spain, 1; not known, 1.

cent.) is largely north European in origin, English, German or Irish. These wards show a smaller proportion of east European peoples than the wards of the other sections surveyed.

The wage-earning mothers of Kensington are divided as to nativity in the same proportion as the population of the wards, 25 per cent. foreign-born, 75 per cent. native. (Table V.) The foreign-born women, like the foreign-born population of these

TABLE VI—NATIVITY OF FOREIGN-BORN MOTHERS IN EACH SECTION

Section	Total	Old immigration countries		New immigration countries	
		Ireland	Other ¹	Poland	Other ²
Total	289	76	54	81	78
Kensington	60	18	27	11	4
Southwest	65	43	13	1	8
Northwest	22	11	3	6	2
Northeast	57	2	7	2	46
Southeast	59	2	1	39	17
Manayunk	26		3	22	1

¹ This group includes women born in England, 27; Germany, 12; Scotland, 8; Alsace-Lorraine, 2; Sweden, 2; France, 1; Norway, 1; Switzerland, 1.

² This group includes women born in Austria-Hungary, 57; Russia, 13; Italy, 5; Roumania, 2; Serbia, 1.

wards, are principally from north Europe, especially Great Britain and Germany. The women with foreign-born fathers (32 per cent.), are also of north European extraction. (Table VI.) While nothing is known of the racial background of the women with native-born fathers (43 per cent.), it

is probable that they represent the traditions of Great Britain. These women, or their fathers and grandfathers, came to this country from an industrialized society. They were accustomed to work in factories and especially to work in textile mills. The methods of production which they found here may have differed slightly from those with which they were familiar but the tradition of spinning and weaving, even outside the home, still persisted.

Kensington is so located that it has every opportunity for industrial and commercial development. It is within easy access to the city, with excellent transportation facilities for its raw goods and manufactured products. Its industrial and commercial enterprises are most diversified in character. Its population is essentially an industrial population. Its homes are the homes of workingmen. The industrial atmosphere of the neighborhood permeates every home. Its newer citizens, the foreign-born, have come from a similar atmosphere, the mills of Great Britain, and are well adapted to wage-earning in Kensington. This combination of proximity to industry, of workingman's standard of life, and of national background has been the condition under which the highest proportion of married women, one in four, has sought gainful employment.

*Employment of wives and mothers in the
Northeast section.*

The Northeast section is second to Kensington in the extent to which its married women are gainfully employed (23 per cent.). It lies half-way be-

tween Market Street and Kensington and has practically the same range of industries as the latter.³ The Northeast section resembles Kensington in most of its external features. Although it is not so characteristically a mill district, it would be impossible to draw a sharp line dividing it from Kensington on the basis of industries, kind of homes and general appearance of the streets. It is less distinctly a textile district, though no less industrial. The Northeast section, however, does not include the extremes of Kensington. Its back streets are less depressing and its best sections less prosperous. There are fewer large stores and more small shops conducted in the homes.

Although the mills and factories form an integral part of this section and are close at hand, a smaller number of mothers walk to work (54 per cent.), than is the case in Kensington and Manayunk where 67 and 89 per cent., respectively, walk. This difference is probably accounted for by the fact that 40 per cent. of the Northeast section mothers are in domestic and personal service in other parts of the city, while but 17 per cent. of the working mothers of Kensington and four per cent. of those of Manayunk are thus employed. (Table II.) The opportunities for mill and factory work are close at hand in the Northeast section, yet the mothers go outside for day's work.

Rents are low in the Northeast section. Mothers in this district, however, are paying more for their

³ The boundary of this section on the north is formed by Oxford Street, on the east by North Second Street, on the south by Girard Avenue, and on the west by North Sixth Street. It forms the western part, more than half, of ward 17.

homes than the women of the Southeast section and Manayunk, where the population is largely foreign-born. Only half of them pay less than \$10 a month as compared with 71 per cent. and 78 per cent. in the latter sections. The six-room house is less frequent (43 per cent.) than in any other except the Southeast section (six per cent.) where the tenement house has largely supplanted the one-family house.

TABLE VII—REASONS GIVEN FOR WAGE-EARNING BY MOTHERS OF EACH NATIVITY GROUP¹

Nativity and stock ^a	Total	Mothers who ascribe wage-earning to					
		Insufficient wage	Death of husband	Illness of husband	Deser-tion	Non-sup-port	Pref-erence
Number							
Total	725	208	164	101	94	79	79
Native stock.	249	65	57	29	49	25	24
Foreign stock	190	50	47	20	27	21	25
Foreign-born.	286	93	60	52	18	33	30
Per Cent.							
Total	100.0	28.7	22.6	13.9	13.0	10.9	10.9
Native stock.	34.3	26.1	22.9	11.6	19.7	10.1	9.6
Foreign stock	26.2	26.3	24.7	10.5	14.2	11.1	13.2
Foreign-born.	39.5	32.5	21.0	18.2	6.3	11.5	10.5

¹ Three of the 728 mothers did not give their reason for wage-earning. One hundred seventy were not mothers at the time.

² In this and all other tables native stock includes native with native fathers; foreign stock includes native with foreign fathers; and foreign-born includes foreign with foreign fathers.

The Northeast section differs from all others in that its predominating foreign element is of the new immigration other than Polish. Almost 40 per cent. of the population of the ward in which it is located is foreign-born and almost half of this foreign population was born in Hungary. The information obtained from the mothers in this section about their birthplace and race was not satisfactory but they are probably Slovak rather than Magyar. The working mothers show a much higher proportion (70 per cent.) of foreign birth than the ward as a whole. This 70 per cent. includes 57 per cent. who came from eastern Europe other than the three parts of Poland and two per cent. born in Poland.

TABLE VIII—REASONS GIVEN FOR WAGE-EARNING BY FOREIGN-BORN MOTHERS ¹

Reasons for wage-earning	Total	Old immigration countries		New immigration countries	
		Ireland	Other	Poland	Other
Total	286	76	52	81	77
Insufficient wage of husband	93	17	17	26	33
Death of husband.	60	24	15	13	8
Illness of husband	52	16	7	18	11
Desertion by husband	18	5	4	4	5
Non-support by husband	33	9	5	7	12
Personal preference	30	5	4	13	8

¹ Three foreign-born women did not give their reason for entering industry.

The population of the Northeast section differs from that of Kensington in that it contains a much

larger foreign-born element and one which is predominantly southeast European in origin. Its people come from an agricultural economy and are not accustomed to the specialized mill and factory work which prevails here. Their agricultural background, however, has given them a tradition of joint production by all members of the family.

They work while the husband works twice as frequently (63 per cent.) as the whole group (30 per cent.), emphasizing insufficient wage of husband as a reason, while personal preference seems to have about the same weight here as elsewhere. (Tables VII, VIII and IX.) They go out of their immediate neighborhoods, therefore, in order to find the jobs with which they are more familiar, scrubbing and washing. Gainful employment obviously is not so largely due to the proximity of factory and mill here as in Kensington. Opportunity alone is not enough to take wives out of their homes into factories in great numbers. They must also have become accustomed to that kind of work through a long stretch of time as they have in Kensington.

*Employment of wives and mothers in
Manayunk.*

Manayunk is unique and distinctive in appearance. It suggests a mediæval European village rather than an industrial center in a modern city.⁴

⁴ This section lies on the banks of the Schuylkill River. The boundary line, beginning at the point at which Du Pont Street runs into the river, continues northwest on this street as far as Silverwood Street, thence on Cotton to Tower as far as Jamestown, and back by way of Main and Lock Streets to the river. It forms but a small part of the area

Its textile mills, which in some instances have stood for a century or more, have not adapted themselves to modern conditions in appearance or conveniences. The hillside location on the banks of the Schuylkill River, the crumbling stone walls and the quaint old houses add to the picturesque effect of the section. Its geographical and social isolation tends to preserve its characteristic traits. There are other manufacturing industries but they do not offer the same field of employment for women. That these mills are within easy reach of the working mothers is demonstrated by the fact that all but 11 per cent. of the mothers walk to work. (Table II.) Work is nearer at hand here than in any other section studied.

In spite of the proximity of mills and factories the prevailing type of gainful employment among wives in Manayunk does not take them out of their homes. Ten per cent. of the 805 women in this section are engaged in commercial home work, while less than nine per cent. are working outside their homes. (Table I.) This is the only section in which work within the home is more common than work outside the home. Here, as in the Northeast and Southeast sections, home work appears to be characteristic of Polish and other new immigration peoples. Forty-five of the 48 wage-earning mothers of the intensive study, selected from among the 71 women employed outside their homes, are engaged in of ward 21, in which it is located. Manayunk is a small section which includes only a small part of the industrial community which it represents. The number of women interviewed for the intensive study from this section, 48, hardly warrants comparison with other sections.

manufacturing and mechanical industries in Manayunk. (Tables I and III.)

The standard of life among the wage-earning mothers of this section, as measured by rents, does not seem to be high. Seventy per cent. pay less than \$10 a month. They live in good-sized houses, however, 53 per cent. in six-room dwellings compared with 50 per cent. of the wage-earning mothers in all sections. The distance from the center of the city probably affects the level of rents here in such a way as to make a comparison with other sections valueless.

The wage-earning mothers are not typical of the ward in which the section is located with respect to nativity. Only 17 per cent. of the population of the ward is of foreign birth, while 54 per cent. of the wage-earning mothers were born abroad, for the most part in Poland.

Manayunk, where 19 per cent. of the wives and mothers are gainfully employed, is characterized by a high degree of industrialization, isolation from the rest of the city and a working population largely Polish. The largest group of women gainfully employed, those in commercial home work, do not come within the limits of the intensive study. The mothers who were studied intensively, then, not only are few in number but represent only half of the working women in the community. These Polish people appear to be newcomers who have been attracted to the section by the industrial opportunities open to the men. Since they are in the section, some of the women have entered the industries which are available to them while others have opened small

shops. The customs and habits of this population do not reinforce the influence of proximity to industry as is the case with the British in Kensington. The mothers do not claim economic pressure as a reason for working so frequently here as in other districts.

Employment of wives and mothers in the Southwest section.

One married woman in every five is gainfully employed in the Southwest section. It ranks third in this respect, the two most distinctly industrial sections, Kensington and the Northeast section, being first and second, respectively. The Southwest section, located to the north of Gray's Ferry Road and extending as far south as Mifflin Street, is not a distinctly industrial district.⁵ It has no particular advantage of situation which would tend to encourage commercial or industrial enterprise. It is a section which is off the beaten path of progress. The principal industries of interest to women workers in or adjacent to this district are the arsenal to the north, a recently established branch of a large yarn mill to the south and a few scattering textile mills.

⁵ The boundary line of the southwest district, beginning at the intersection of Ellsworth Street and the Schuylkill River, continues on Ellsworth to Gray's Ferry Road to Washington Avenue as far as South 24th Street. It follows South 24th Street to Reed, and continues east on Reed to Point Breeze Avenue, southwest to the intersection of Point Breeze and Dickinson, follows the latter west to South 30th Street, then south on South 30th Street to Mifflin, thence along Mifflin to its intersection with South 31st Street and north

The necessity for wage-earning on the part of mothers and wives is more obvious in the Southwest section than in any other. The poverty line is more than a figure of speech here, it almost takes visible form up and down Annin, Wilder and other streets in the northern part of the section. The neighborhood is distinctly squalid. It is a scrap heap of peoples huddled together between the marshes on one hand and the Schuylkill River on the other. The women are forced into industry by the conditions which exist in their homes, not drawn out by the industries of the neighborhood. The Southwest section offers no inducement to wage-earning. It is necessity which sends these women into industry, but they interpret this necessity in the light of their racial background.

The mothers of the intensive study, in consequence of the dearth of industrial and commercial plants in the section, are forced to go long distances to work. Three-fifths of them, according to Table II, ride to work and practically all who ride spend a comparatively long time in reaching their destination. Freed from the influence of local industries, they have gone into a wide range of occupations. Forty-eight per cent. of the mothers of this section are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, as compared with 63 per cent. of all mothers, and 40 per cent. are in domestic and personal service compared with 30 per cent. of the entire group. Nearly 12 per cent. compared with

on the latter to the original point on the bank of the Schuylkill. This section occupies the central part of ward 36, and a part of ward 48.

seven per cent. of the 728 mothers, are in trade and clerical work.

Although the level of rents is high in the Southwest section, its people seem to be far less enterprising and less progressive than those in Kensington. Several of the streets in the south part of this section are more prosperous in appearance and this fact may account for the comparatively high level of rents in this locality. The general tendency among workingmen's families in Philadelphia is said to be to move to the northern part of the city as the standard of living rises. The general character of those who remain in this district certainly gives a basis for such an hypothesis. A considerable number of colored families on certain streets complicates the social problems still further.

The Southwest section is located in a ward of the city with a high proportion of its population, 33 per cent., native white of native parentage; 33 per cent., native of foreign parentage; 18 per cent., foreign-born and 16 per cent., colored. The foreign-born population is largely Irish and the native persons of foreign parentage are largely of Irish stock. Thirty-four per cent. of the working mothers of the intensive study are Irish born or of Irish descent, while 41 per cent. are native-born of native parentage. The remaining 25 per cent. are practically all of old immigration birth or stock. It appears, although an exact comparison is out of the question, that the Irish are more largely represented among the working mothers than are the other elements of the population of the ward.

These women enter industry in greatest propor-

tion when the husband is no longer a member of the family. Forty-three per cent. of them, as opposed to 36 per cent. of all mothers, went out to work only when the husband was ill or dead.

TABLE IX—REASONS ASSIGNED FOR WAGE-EARNING BY MOTHERS IN EACH SECTION ¹

Section	Total	Insufficient wage	Death of husband	Illness of husband	Desertion	Non-support	Preference
Total	725	208	164	101	94	79	79
Kensington ..	237	64	46	34	37	29	27
Southwest ..	208	50	62	30	27	26	13
Northwest ..	82	27	21	4	14	3	13
Northeast ..	79	41	13	5	3	8	9
Southeast ...	71	15	11	17	9	7	12
Manayunk ..	48	11	11	11	4	6	5

¹ Three of the 728 mothers did not give their reasons for working after marriage. One hundred and seventy were not mothers at the time.

(Table IX.) They do not prepare for the day when the husband cannot continue wage-earning. Only 30 per cent. of these mothers, as compared with 40 per cent. of the whole group of working mothers, entered industry when the husband was living and contributing regularly to the support of the family. Preference for industrial employment is conspicuously unimportant since only six per cent. of all these women became wage-earners from choice. The women with living but non-contributing husbands, 14 per cent. due to illness, and 13 per cent. to non-support, are slightly more numerous here than in the whole population of wage-earning mothers.

It appears to be clearly understood according to their standards that if possible the husband is to support his wife and children without assistance from his wife. Her desire to own a home or to raise the standard of living does not lead her to share this responsibility. It is only when the situation becomes acute that the mother in this section goes out in search of work. And she is forced to go in search of it since it is not ever before her door as in Kensington.

Employment of wives and mothers in the Northwest section.

The Northwest section of the city represents a residential as distinguished from a factory district. It is a large section and shows great variety in its appearance and in the character of its population. It lies on either side of the Schuylkill River.⁶ The

⁶The boundary of the section beyond the Schuylkill begins at the intersection of North 51st Street and Thompson Street, continues in a northeasterly direction on Thompson to the intersection of that street with Lancaster, continues on Lancaster as far as Girard Avenue which forms the boundary as far as North 44th Street. The boundary continues along North 44th Street to Haverford Avenue, follows in a northwesterly direction to North 49th Street which it follows to Market Street, then along Market Street to North 51st Street, to the original point. This section occupies the southeast corner of ward 44, over half of the territory of the ward.

The remainder of the section referred to as the northwest district borders on Fairmount Park, south of Poplar and west of North 20th Streets. The boundary line begins at the junction of Poplar Street and the Park, follows Poplar Street east to Corinthian Avenue, to Parrish Street. From this point it continues east to North 20th Street and follows the latter south until it intersects Green Street; from

district west of the river is composed almost entirely of better class homes. There is only an occasional corner grocery store or shop to represent commercial and industrial interests. The houses are far more prepossessing than those of the other sections, and the streets are wider and in much better condition. The back yards are large enough to enable the housewife to keep the intimacies of the menu and of wash day out of the public eye. On the east side of the river, however, the characteristics of the workingmen's neighborhood reappear. Solid tiers of dingy two-story houses on small back streets, small shops, alternating with mills and factories, are its outstanding features. This part of the district, however, becomes more residential to the north and east, as it is further removed from the railroad and the river. These houses are less attractive than those across the river, but they are an improvement over those in other sections. The colored population lives in this particular neighborhood, notably on and near Lex Street. The essentially residential character is demonstrated by the long time it takes these mothers to get to their

this point to North 22nd Street as far as Spring Garden Street. The boundary line follows Spring Garden west to 23rd Street, thence to Green Street, and Green Street west as far as the Pennsylvania Railroad. Fairmount Avenue becomes the boundary where it crosses the railroad, but at 25th Street the line follows that street north to Aspen, and back on Aspen west to the railroad, and on to the original point. This section occupies the northwestern corner of ward 15, less than half of the total area of the ward.

These two distinct geographic areas were combined because of the small number of wage-earning mothers found in each. The two parts of the section represent the same racial groups.

work. Sixty-two per cent. of them (Table II) are unable to walk to work, as compared with 43 per cent. of the group as a whole. The industries, then, are not an integral part of the community. The mother who wishes, or is forced, to work must go far from home to find employment.

Only one in seven of the 1,644 married women discovered in the survey of this section, was gainfully employed, and one in eight was a wage-earner outside of her home. These proportions are lower than in any other section. Commercial home work is practically non-existent. Less than half of the 82 working mothers are employed in manufacture (48 per cent.), compared with almost two-thirds (63 per cent.) of all mothers. The diversity of the population on either side of the river probably accounts for the fact that this section contains the highest proportion of women engaged in occupations requiring the greatest amount of training and a large number in those requiring least. Eighteen per cent. were in trade and clerical positions and 40 per cent. were in domestic and personal service. (Table II.) The wage-earning mother of the intensive study cannot be accepted as typical of the population nor her home as typical of the homes of the Northwest section. The factor of wage-earning tended strongly toward the selection only of the poorest families in the section.

The population of the Northwest section is of substantially the same ethnic stock as that of the Southwest section. The most important foreign element in each is Irish, but the working foreign mothers of the Northwest section are not so de-

cidedly an Irish group as those of the Southwest section.

The Southwest section has shown that an Irish population living in a residential rather than a factory district and with a low economic level, will send a relatively high proportion (20 per cent.) of married women to work. The Northwest section shows that the same ethnic group, Irish, in a better grade residential neighborhood where there are practically no factories or stores, under more favorable economic conditions, will reduce the proportion of wage-earning to 15 per cent., the lowest of all the sections considered. The difference between these two sections, then, is primarily economic; it probably is this difference in standard of income that cuts the amount of wage-earning by wives and mothers from 20 per cent. to 15 per cent.

*Employment of wives and mothers in the
Southeast section.*

The Southeast section, on the Delaware water front, is as distinctive and unique as Manayunk, though less picturesque.⁷ Its proximity to the river colors the industrial and business life of the community. Huge warehouses border the river. The old, irregularly paved streets resound with heavy

⁷ The Southeast section begins at Fourth and South Streets. The boundary line continues from this point east to the Delaware River, follows the river to Catherine Street, west to Fourth and returns on Fourth Street to the original point. This section includes more than the eastern third of ward four and the northeast corner of ward three, about one-sixth of ward three.

traffic to and from the wharves. There are no industries, except cigar-making, which call particularly for women workers. These cigar shops are within walking distance of the homes. (Table II.)

The Southeast section is the only one of the six canvassed in which the tenement house figures prominently. The houses which are thus occupied by several families were not, however, designed for such a purpose. They are very old buildings, originally the homes of prosperous merchants before the water front district deteriorated as a residential district. They have been remodeled slightly to meet the needs of their new occupants, but they are far from representing the most enlightened opinion with regard to a tenement dwelling. The colonial doorways, the graceful balustrades and woodwork of these old houses, suggestive of the more fortunate past, are strangely incongruous in the crowded tenement of today. Over three-fourths of the working mothers in this section pay less than \$10 a month. (Table IV.) The number of rooms for each household is also much lower here than in any other district. The six-room house, the most common size used by the whole group of mothers, is occupied by only six per cent. of the families of this neighborhood.

The inside court is another distinctive feature of the housing arrangements in this district, rarely found in other sections. A small opening between two buildings on the street leads into an unexpected enclosure surrounded by a number of one-family or tenement houses which cannot usually be detected from the street. The court may be a good

sized square or it may be no more than a narrow alley way between two rows of houses. The smaller courts are often paved. The center of community interest is usually a hydrant, the sole source of water supply for the several families living on the court. When the court is large and the houses are well spaced, life there seems much more desirable than on the noisy street. Many of the courts are small and congested, however, and permit no circulation of air. In some of these open spaces there is practically no sunlight.

The proportion of women gainfully employed in the Southeast section (15.4 per cent.) is practically the same as in the Northwest section (15.3 per cent.). (Table I.) The proportion of married women engaged as wage-earners away from home (eight per cent. of the total of 1271), is slightly lower than in any other section. The proportion of women engaged in home work, especially commercial home work, is almost equally high. The women are mistresses of small shops, grocery or delicatessen, as a rule with an occasional news stand or notions store. Home work of this type seems to be peculiar to a foreign-born population of the new immigration. The other women do not hit upon this device for eking out the family income. The sections which are distinguished by a high proportion of women of Irish birth or Irish descent are particularly low in the percentage of commercial home work.

A high proportion of the wage-earning mothers here (39 per cent.), as in the Northeast (40 per cent.), and Southwest (39 per cent.), sections are engaged in domestic and personal service. (Table

III.) The women of this district seem at present to be excluded from trade and clerical positions, not by long distance, but by lack of educational and language qualifications. They are within easy reach of the business center of the city and in some instances they work in office buildings as charwomen.

The wards which include the Southeast section have a large foreign white population, 40 per cent. of the total. The principal foreign groups have come from Austria, Hungary, Russia and Italy. The people coming from Austria and Russia are almost entirely Poles, although this fact does not appear from the census classification according to country of birth. The working mothers contain an even higher proportion of foreign-born than the whole population of the wards (59 out of 71). Thirty-nine were born in one of the three parts of Poland, while 17 were born in other new immigration countries.⁸

The problem in the Southeast section is to account not for the presence of married women in industry but for their absence. This section has almost the lowest percentage at work anywhere and the lowest percentage at work outside the home. It resembles Manayunk more closely than any other section in extent of gainful employment outside the home, in a higher proportion of commercial home

⁸ Although there is a large colored population in these wards, 11 per cent., the particular streets housing this population were not included in the survey. The Italian section of the ward was not covered by the survey because its object was to discover names of as many working mothers as possible and it was assumed that Italian mothers do not go into industry in great numbers.

work compared with outside employment and in its Polish population. The economic levels of these two groups also seem to be similar, although a larger number of mothers here claim they work from preference. The outstanding difference between these two sections is in industrial opportunities. Manayunk is a mill and factory district, a textile district, while the southeast section is neither a textile district nor a factory district. This difference in industrial opportunity has probably had some effect in reducing the amount of gainful employment from 19 per cent. in Manayunk to 15 per cent. in Southeast, but its importance must not be overemphasized since it is extremely doubtful if the Polish women in Manayunk have gone to work in large measure for this reason.

The influence of neighborhood on wage-earning by wives and mothers.

There is obviously some relation between the character of the community in which a woman lives and her attitude toward gainful employment, but as yet it is impossible to do more than suggest what it may be. Each of the six sections surveyed presents a slightly different combination of factors. The situation in Kensington points to the proximity of the industrial plant, in conjunction with a population accustomed to local industries, as factors of great significance in determining the extent to which women become wage-earners. But the Northeast section shows that the influence of an industrial neighborhood cannot be counted upon invariably to

send a large percentage of wives and mothers into industrial pursuits. Women who are not accustomed to the local industries, even though they represent a low income group, will not enter mills and factories in great numbers. Their tendency to be gainfully employed in familiar pursuits is evident, however, from the prevalence of domestic and personal service and commercial home work in this section. The women of Manayunk appear to be even less accustomed to the prevailing industries than the women in the Northeast section. They have found remunerative work in shops of their own in greater proportion than women in any other section. Group attitudes, especially among the Poles, seem to keep women from working outside the home.

In the Southwest section a fair proportion of women are gainfully employed in spite of the comparative absence of industrial opportunities and a population largely Irish. The families in this section represent a low economic level combined with an apparent lack of enterprise necessary to better their situation. The Northwest section represents the same national group, a more distinctly residential neighborhood of a better type and a higher economic level; the percentage of working mothers is reduced from 20 to 15. The Southeast section is the one of the three neighborhoods not given over to manufacture. The frequency of commercial home work here illustrates the modifications wrought by the racial background on the nature of the work selected by mothers.

Three factors in their most inclusive sense appear to make for gainful employment of wives and

mothers; first, an industrial population with a workingman's standard of life; second, a neighborhood offering opportunities for employment close at hand; and finally, a population long accustomed to the prevailing industries. When all of these conditions exist at the same time, a high proportion of the married women become wage-earners. When one or more of these conditions are absent, the proportion tends to fall. Kensington represents this combination of causes very clearly. The percentage of mothers at work in each of these six sections is largely the result of the equilibrium which is maintained between these three sets of conditions.

CHAPTER IV

THE HUSBAND OF THE WAGE-EARNING MOTHER

The husband as a factor in family support.

The immediate situation which takes a married woman into industry, according to her interpretation, is directly traceable to the responsibility for family support which her husband assumes. At the time these 728 mothers entered industry, 467 of them had husbands who were counted members of the family group. When this study was made, however, the number of husbands had been reduced to 328: 69 husbands had deserted and 70 had died in the meantime. Many of the women who entered industry because of temporary conditions, such as non-support or illness, have been forced by the desertion or death of the husband to continue their employment. The incentive to wage-earning furnished by the status of the husband has been reinforced rather than decreased.

The wives of the 328 men who were at home or away only temporarily at the time of the interview are referred to throughout the study as married women. One hundred and sixty-three husbands were away from home permanently and their wives are hereinafter designated deserted or divorced

women, as the case may be.¹ One-third of the total number of women, 237, had been deprived of support through widowhood.

Women who come from homes broken by death, desertion, or divorce are far more likely to enter industry than mothers from normal homes. The coincidence of broken homes and wage-earning by mothers is revealed in the tabulation below where the status of the husband in the 10,838 homes covered by the survey is compared with his status in the 728 homes in the intensive study:

	<i>Per Cent. of</i>	
	10,838	728
	<i>households households</i>	
Families with husbands living at home and working	83.0	38.6
Families with husbands living at home and not working	2.9	6.4
Families with husbands not at home....	14.1	55.0

Occupations of husband.

Only 44 of the 328 husbands who were considered members of the family were not working. More than two-thirds of the 266 men whose occupations were reported were employed in manufacturing or mechanical industries of one kind or

¹ In the greater number of these cases at the time of the study the marriage ties were still binding, since 146 women reported themselves separated or deserted. It is impossible to ascertain if a legal separation had been granted, since the schedule made no provision for entering the fact of desertion as distinguished from separation. Twelve mothers definitely stated that they were divorced and five were unmarried. The latter were in the economic position of deserted mothers because the father of the child, in each instance, was no longer contributing to its support.

another. The percentage in manufacturing and mechanical industries (68 per cent.) is high compared with the city as a whole. The census of 1920 shows that 52 per cent. of the whole male population, ten years of age and over, was found in such industries. The following occupations were reported:

Metal trades	67
Building trades	25
Textile industry	12
Other manufacturing and mechanical industries..	77
Transportation	24
Trade and clerical occupations	10
Public Service	26
Domestic and personal service	25

The 181 men classified under mechanical and manufacturing industries were variously employed. Over one-third were employed in metal trades of one kind or another. These men were machinists, machinists' helpers, gas meter makers, pipe-fitters, bridge builders and the like. The building trades, including men engaged as carpenters, painters, roofers, plumbers and others, account for about one-seventh of the manufacturing and mechanical occupations. Only twelve men were reported as working in the textile mills. The strikes in the textile mills of Kensington in the early part of 1919 may have reduced the number actually in these occupations at the time the intensive study was made. The 77 men grouped under "other manufacturing and mechanical" industries were engaged in printing and publishing, in furniture and broom manufacture, in paint factories, in making sails, in preparing foods of one kind or another, as well as many

other forms of work. A number of these men were listed as laborers in manufacturing and mechanical plants.

The 24 men engaged in transportation range from locomotive engineers to freight handlers, truck drivers and drivers of milk wagons. A few of the men in the public service group were policemen and city firemen but the greatest number were in the army and navy. Those engaged in domestic and personal service were variously employed as watchmen, bar tenders, interpreters, janitors, and furnace men. Those who were employed in trade and clerical positions are a negligible quantity. They include such diverse occupations as furniture salesmen and peddlers on the street.

Earnings of husband.

Almost three in every five of these men earn less than \$25.00 a week. Half of the group earning less than \$25.00, however, earn \$20.00 or more. These wages do not provide the usual minimum standard of decency for the family of husband, wife and three children, which requires from about \$25.00 to \$30.00 a week.² The number of men in the army and navy reduced the level of wages quite perceptibly. It appears from Table X that over half of the 34 men who were receiving a wage of less

²*Workingmen's Standard of Living*, Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, pp. 5-7. The report (p. 44) of The Health Insurance Commission of Pennsylvania shows for Kensington in the summer of 1918, 55 per cent. earning under \$30.00 a week, with a modal group earning \$20.00 to \$25.00 a week.

than \$15 per week are in this group. The largest group of wage-earners in each of the other occupational groups were earning between \$20 and \$25 a week, or just under the minimum. Those who were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits show the largest number, absolutely as well as relatively, earning over \$25. The metal workers, many of whom were doing war work, were the best paid among the latter. Those who were engaged in miscellaneous manufacturing occupations are next in order of high wage. It must be remembered, however, that the weekly wage of these men cannot be multiplied by fifty-two with the certainty that the result will represent their annual earnings. Since no information was obtained about the annual income or the amount of unemployment it is impossible to measure the yearly income from the husband's wages.

TABLE X—WEEKLY WAGES OF HUSBANDS IN EACH GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS¹

General division of occupations	Total	Mothers whose husbands earn			
		Under \$15	\$15 to \$25	\$25 to \$35	\$35 and over
Total	247	34	113	89	11
Manufacturing and mechanical	169	9	80	70	10
Transportation ..	20	2	10	7	1
Trade and clerical	9	1	5	3	
Public service ...	25	19	4	2	
Domestic and personal	24	3	14	7	

¹ Thirty-seven of the 284 mothers whose husbands were working did not give the information.

It will be recalled that 101 women said that they went to work originally on account of the illness of the husband while 79 women gave non-support as the initial cause. At the time the mother was interviewed only 44 of the 328 husbands living with their families were unemployed. Illness and incapacity through accident account for 35 of these cases. Six of the nine who are in good health had no employment and three apparently had no work nor any desire to work. The percentage of deliberate unemployment is remarkably low in light of the fact that this group includes all the non-support cases when the wife is still living with her husband. The industrial conditions prevailing at the time the study was made probably account for the comparative absence of unemployment.

Unemployment is most frequent among the older men, the 70 who were 45 years of age or over. One-fourth of them (26 per cent.), were unemployed, as compared with less than one-seventh (13.4 per cent.), of the whole group of 328 husbands. While about one in ten of the employed husbands was in domestic and personal service, one in six of the unemployed had followed one or another of the occupations classified under that head. Ten of the 12 men who had been out of work for one year or longer were ill or incapacitated through accident.

Desertion by husband.

Deserted women represent homes which are broken as truly as if the husband were deceased. When the husband deserts, the result is a home with-

out a wage-earner. The deserted mother has remained in industry as continuously as the woman whose husband is dead. The psychological adjustment of the mother under these two conditions cannot be analyzed and compared but her economic adjustment, which is more pertinent to the question, appears from the figures given below to be the same in either case:

	<i>Mothers Employed</i>	
	<i>Constantly</i>	<i>Intermittently</i>
Mothers who are married	249	79
Mothers who are widowed	226	11
Mothers who are deserted and separated	139	7
Mothers who are divorced	12	—
Mothers who are single	5	—

Only 14 of the 146 deserting or divorced husbands, according to the statements of their wives, returned to the family and deserted a second time. Only three children have been born to these 146 families more than nine months after the husbands' first alleged desertion. The following data on the time from desertion to the date of the interview was supplied by 129 of these 146 women:

Mothers deserted less than 1 year	14
Mothers deserted 1 to 3 years	35
Mothers deserted 3 to 5 years	33
Mothers deserted 5 to 10 years	35
Mothers deserted 10 years and over	12

One hundred four (71 per cent.) of the 146 deserting husbands have never made any contribution toward family support since leaving. The remaining 42 at one time or another appear to have felt either the pangs of conscience or the firm grasp

of the law which prompted them to contribute something with more or less regularity. The favorite grievance of the deserted mother who still keeps in touch with her husband is his irregularity in paying for the support of the family. The court comes in for its share of incrimination. It is easy enough, so they say, for a rich woman to get help from her husband through the courts, but impossible for a poor woman.

*Nativity of wage-earning mothers and
their husbands.*

The house-to-house survey revealed many homes in which the mother was not at work even though the husband was unemployed or was not living with the family. It would be desirable to discover why these mothers did not go to work but the present study does not furnish the necessary data. It is, however, possible to discover some characteristics of the men whose wives work and of the women themselves.

Where were they born?

How old are they?

Have they been married long and how large are their families?

Had they been married long when the wife entered industry?

What industrial experience had the wife had?

These questions will throw some light on the households which are partially or entirely supported by the mother and the reason why these mothers went to work and others did not.

The nativity distribution of working mothers resembles that of the population of the city and of the wards in which the selected sections are located. The wards in which they live, however, include a larger percentage of persons of foreign birth or parentage than the city as a whole. In the same way, the particular section of the ward in which the working mother lives, as a rule, includes a higher proportion of persons of foreign birth or parentage than the ward as a whole. Wage-earning mothers, then, come from neighborhoods which are relatively high in foreign-born or foreign-stock population. The foreign-born represent the least fortunate economic classes, as a rule, while the native, of native parentage, and in a measure, the native of foreign parentage, represent the group in a more favored economic position. If, however, the testimony of the industrial sections of Philadelphia has any weight, the supposition that the foreign-born element of the population is responsible for an undue amount of wage-earning outside the home is not tenable.³

Native-born mothers.

Three in every five of the 728 mothers were born in the United States. These 439 women are again divided into two groups: those whose fathers were born in this country (34 per cent. of the total), and

³ For the United States as a whole, in 1920, the percentage of all foreign-born women 15 years of age and over gainfully employed (18.8 per cent.) was less than for all women of the same age (23.7 per cent.), while for married women the percentages are 7.2 and 9.0, respectively. *Fourteenth Census*, IV, p. 694.

those with foreign-born fathers (26 per cent.).⁴ (Table V.)

The largest undifferentiated nativity group is made up of women with native fathers. Nothing is known of the racial background of these second generation Americans. Obviously, they cannot be of the same stock as the newer immigrants from eastern Europe because of the element of time. Their surnames indicate English, Irish and German descent. They are from families which have lived for more than two generations in Philadelphia. Remarks such as, "Yes, mother and I were born on the same street" were quite commonly made by the women of this group.

The women whose fathers were born in foreign countries, however, are susceptible of further differentiation. Two classes, the old and the new immigration groups, have been isolated. Countries which have been sending immigrants to the United States continuously since early colonial times are designated old immigration countries. The new immigration, on the other hand, includes peoples from countries which have been responsible for the more recent immigration to this country, beginning about 1880. This chronological basis of classification is also geographical since it is only recently that the eastern European peoples have been coming in such numbers. Ethnic differences and similarities, more-

⁴ The nativity classification of the working mother has been based upon the nativity of her father rather than upon that of both parents. If the nativity of both parents had been used, however, the resulting classification would not have been appreciably altered since the fathers and mothers of these women in the majority of cases were born in the same country.

over, are not entirely disregarded. The old immigration consists largely of Irish and Teutonic peoples, while the new immigration is composed of Slavic and Mediterranean peoples.

These 190 native women of foreign parentage are almost equally divided between Ireland (47 per cent.) and the other old immigration countries, principally Germany, England and Scotland (43 per cent.). The remaining 10 per cent. is made up of women whose fathers represent the new immigration or whose stock is not known. The seven women who did not give the nativity of their fathers have been included throughout with the new immigration. Since the classification by nativity and stock is followed throughout the study, to have excluded them in this way would have meant their virtual elimination from the study. The foreign stock group is fairly homogeneous since the British Isles and Germany are responsible for practically 88 per cent. of it.

Foreign-born mothers.

Two in every five of the working mothers were born outside of the United States. Fifty-five per cent. of the foreign-born are from the parts of Europe designated new immigration countries while the remaining 45 per cent. come from the old immigration countries of northern Europe. (Table VI.) Poland, if partitions are disregarded, has contributed the largest quota of the foreign-born mothers, 81 of the 289. The Poles have come from Germany, Austria and Russian Poland. Austria-Hungary is

responsible for about three-fourths of the women coming from new immigration countries other than Poland. Ireland is a close second to Poland, with 76 women; England and Germany are most important among the old immigration countries other than Ireland since they account for practically three-fourths of the working mothers from such countries. The Jews, so far as the information goes, play a very insignificant part in the population of working mothers with small children. Hebrew extraction is recorded in but eight cases which have been classified according to nativity: Austria, two; Poland, two; and Russia, four. The foreign-born women are not so homogeneous a group as the women of foreign fathers. They represent a larger number of countries than the former and they are not so predominantly from any one country.

In this group of wage-earning mothers the foreign-born element is, however, responsible for an undue amount of employment of women whose husbands are still living. (Table XI.) Fifty-five per cent. of the foreign-born wage-earning mothers are married compared with 37 per cent. of the native women with native fathers and 41 per cent. of the native women with foreign-born fathers. This high percentage is accounted for, in part, by the presence of the southeast European group, especially those born in Austria and Hungary, more than two-thirds (68 per cent.), of whom are married. The foreign-born women of old immigration stock also show a fair proportion of married women at work (43 per cent.). Among the women of native stock a large proportion have been deserted (31 per cent.), com-

pared with the whole group (22 per cent.). Thirty-seven per cent. of the native women with foreign-born fathers are widowed compared with 33 per cent. of the whole.

TABLE XI—NATIVITY AND MARITAL STATUS OF MOTHERS

Nativity and stock	Total	Married	De-serted	Di-vorced	Single	Wid-owed
Number						
Total	728	328	146	12	5	237
Native stock	249	91	67	9	2	80
Foreign stock	190	78	37	3	2	70
Foreign-born	289	159	42		1	87
Per Cent.						
Total	100.0	45.0	20.1	1.6	.7	32.6
Native stock	34.2	36.5	24.2	6.4	.8	32.1
Foreign stock	26.1	41.0	19.4	1.6	1.1	36.9
Foreign-born	39.7	55.0	14.5		.4	30.1

The fact that the married women born in Ireland and other north European countries enter industry in greater proportion than those of the same stock born in this country argues the influence of American surroundings on wage-earning. A generation born in this country appears to have less need of wage-earning than a generation born abroad. It is impossible to state whether this difference is due to a changed ideal of home responsibility or a higher standard of living possible on the wages of the husband alone, making the necessity less pressing. The foreign-born women from eastern Europe introduce

a new racial element into the wage-earning group. Until these women, largely Slavic, have been in this country long enough for their daughters to become mothers, it will be impossible to determine whether they will respond in the same way to American standards.

Mixed marriages.

In less than one-fifth (18 per cent.) of the 713 families, for which data are available, husband and wife were born in different countries. This percentage of mixed marriage is more than twice the proportion in the city as a whole (about eight per cent.).⁵ The lowest percentage of mixed marriage is found among native women with native fathers. All but six per cent. of this group are married to men who were born in the United States, and but two of the 15 foreign-born husbands came from north Europe. The women who were born in this country, of foreign-born fathers, represent a much higher percentage of mixed marriage (18 compared with six). Seventeen of the 32 foreign-born husbands are of the same nativity as the woman's father. These mixed marriages are between members of the same immigration group. The foreign-born mothers show a still higher proportion of mixed marriage, 28 per cent. Forty-eight of the 81 husbands who are of different nativity from their wives were born in the United

⁵ DRACHSLER, JULIUS, *Democracy and Assimilation*, p. 110, shows percentage of intermarriage of the foreign-born with people outside of their own nationality groups to be slightly over ten per cent.

States. The other 33 marriages are between men and women born in different foreign countries.

The effect of difference in nativity between the parents on home and family life is difficult to evaluate. If the husband and wife adhere to the customs and practices of their respective native lands this difference may produce friction in the home which might lead to wage-earning on the part of the wife. There is a basis of fact for such a conjecture since mixed marriages are comparatively more frequent in families which were subsequently broken up by desertion or divorce. The husband and wife were of different nativity in 19 per cent. of these families as compared with 18 per cent. of the whole group and 16 per cent. of the families which were not disrupted by divorce, desertion, or separation. These numbers are too small to be more than suggestive.

Ages of the mothers and their husbands.

Practically all of the foreign-born women were old enough when they came to the United States to have absorbed the ideals of their respective countries on the mooted question, "A woman's place is in the home." Table XII shows that nearly three-fourths of the 278 reporting were 15 years or over when they arrived, and more than half between 15 and 25 years of age. The old immigration women, Irish and others, were younger at the time of coming to this country than those of the new immigration countries.

TABLE XII—AGE AT WHICH FOREIGN-BORN MOTHERS CAME TO THE UNITED STATES ¹

Nativity and stock	Total	Mothers whose age at arrival was				
		Under 5 years	5 to 15 years	15 to 20 years	20 to 25 years	25 years and over
Total	278	10	61	83	65	59
Ireland	70	3	20	25	17	5
Other old immigration countries ...	52	7	15	9	9	12
Poland	80		17	27	23	13
Other new immigration countries.	76		9	22	16	29

¹ Eleven of the 289 foreign-born mothers did not state their age at coming to the United States.

Neither the foreign-born women nor their husbands are recent immigrants to this country. Practically four-fifths of the women (78 per cent.) and of their husbands (79 per cent.) have been here more than 10 years. The greatest number of each (42 per cent. of the women and 39 per cent. of the men), had been in this country between 10 and 20 years at the time of the study. The virtual cessation of immigration during the years immediately preceding the study probably modified this grouping.

The selection of women with at least one child under 16 years of age tended to rule out all older women as well as younger women who had no children. The figures shown below for 728 mothers indicate that over half of the mothers in industry

(52 per cent.) are under 35 years of age, while the largest single age group is between 30 and 35 years (26 per cent.). The youth of the mothers is further borne out by the fact that their families have apparently not yet reached their maximum size. Thirty-one per cent. had but one child; 30 per cent. had two children.

	<i>Deserted, Widowed and Married Divorced</i>	
Mothers under 25 years of age	32	30
Mothers 25 to 30 years of age	64	67
Mothers 30 to 35 years of age	79	104
Mothers 35 to 40 years of age	69	80
Mothers 40 to 45 years of age	47	82
Mothers 45 years of age and over	37	57

The husbands whose wives are employed outside the home are, for the most part, men in their prime who have already reached the height of their earning power in their respective occupational groups. If these husbands are unable to support their families unaided at the present time they can hardly expect to do so as they grow older unless the family expenditures are reduced. The earnings of the husband must continue to be supplemented by the wife at least until this responsibility can be shifted to the children as they develop earning capacity. It appears that only 36 per cent. of the 315 who reported are under 35 years of age:

Husbands under 25 years of age	16
Husbands 25 to 30 years of age	35
Husbands 30 to 35 years of age	62
Husbands 35 to 40 years of age	69
Husbands 40 to 45 years of age	63
Husbands 45 years of age and over	70

The age at which the husband ceased to be a member of the family is an indication of the unexpectedness of the crisis and the financial unpreparedness of the family for the loss of its chief wage-earner. Forty-five per cent. of the 307 husbands died under 35 years of age, while 36 per cent. of the living husbands are now under that age. These men could reasonably have expected a long wage-earning career. They could hardly have saved enough at their age to provide for the future of their families even had their wages made such an accumulation possible in the course of time. Their children were not old enough to take their places as wage-earners. The wage-earning capacity of the wife was the only available source of income within the family.

The husbands who deserted or were divorced were as a group younger at the time they left their families than the husbands who died. More than two-thirds of them (67 per cent.), were under 35 years of age at the time of desertion or divorce. It is obvious that their families must have been composed of young children. They deserted the family when its need was greatest. Practically two-thirds (88) of the 134 mothers who gave information about the time of desertion were thus left within the first 10 years after marriage, 47 during the first five years, 41 during the second five years and 46 after 10 years or more of married life. Apparently the marriage which lasts ten years has passed the danger point so far as desertion is concerned.

Interval between marriage and wage-earning.

Nearly two-thirds of the 728 wage-earning mothers (63 per cent.) entered industry within the first decade after marriage and about half as many (31 per cent.) during the second ten-year period. Those who began work within the first ten years did so very shortly after marriage, almost twice as many (40 per cent.), indeed, during the first five years as in the second (23 per cent.). Nearly half of those who went to work during the first five

TABLE XIII—INTERVAL BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND WAGE-EARNING FOR MOTHERS IN EACH NATIVITY GROUP

Nativity and stock	Total	Mothers who became wage-earners within				
		Less than 1 year	1 to 5 years	5 to 10 years	10 to 20 years	20 years and more
Number						
Total	728	129	166	165	224	44
Native stock	249	43	70	58	73	5
Foreign stock	190	25	48	46	52	19
Foreign-born	289	61	48	61	99	20
Per Cent.						
Total	100.0	17.7	22.8	22.7	30.8	6.0
Native stock	34.2	17.3	28.1	23.3	29.3	2.0
Foreign stock	26.1	13.1	25.3	24.2	27.1	10.0
Foreign-born	39.7	21.1	16.6	21.1	34.3	6.9

years, moreover, did so during the first year after marriage (18 per cent.), but the number is probably made up largely of those who did not give up wage-earning when they married. These facts seem to warrant the conclusion that if a woman does not become a wage-earner within the first ten years of her married life she is not likely to do so later. It must be borne in mind that 170 of these women were not mothers when they started to work away from home.

Native women with native fathers became wage-earners within the first ten-year period to a greater extent than native women with foreign fathers, or foreign-born women. (Table XIII.) Foreign-born mothers appear, however, to go to work in greater numbers within the first year than the others.

The theory that two can live as cheaply as one seems to have been exploded early since almost half (47 per cent.) of the women who became wage-earners within the first year gave as their reason for working the low income of the husband. (Table XIV.) The women who had been accustomed to their own wages perhaps felt keenly the limitation of expenditure and the lack of independence involved in living within the husband's wages. The influence of their recent experience as wage-earners seems to be revealed by the fact that 15 per cent. of the women who entered industry in less than a year did so from preference, as compared with 11 per cent. of all women. The burden of supporting a wife seems to have brought about a crisis in the lives of some of the husbands since the proportion of non-support cases (23 per cent.) within the first year is more

TABLE XIV—THE INTERVAL BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND WAGE-EARNING IN RELATION TO THE REASON FOR ENTERING INDUSTRY ¹

Interval	Total	Mothers who ascribe wage-earning to					
		Insuf- ficient wage	Death of hus- band	Illness of hus- band	De- ser- tion	Non- sup- port	Pref- erence
Number							
Total	725	208	164	101	94	79	79
Under 1 year	128	60	3	8	9	29	19
1 to 5 years..	166	44	27	22	31	26	16
5 to 10 years.	165	38	52	21	29	11	14
10 to 20 years	224	59	70	45	22	9	19
20 years and more	42	7	12	5	3	4	11
Per Cent.							
Total	100.0	28.7	22.6	13.9	13.0	10.9	10.9
Under 1 year	17.6	46.9	2.3	6.3	7.0	22.7	14.8
1 to 5 years..	22.9	26.5	16.3	13.2	18.7	15.7	9.6
5 to 10 years.	22.8	23.0	31.5	12.7	17.6	6.7	8.5
10 to 20 years	30.9	26.3	31.3	20.1	9.8	4.0	8.5
20 years and more	5.8	16.7	28.6	11.9	7.1	9.5	26.2

¹Three of the 728 mothers did not state their reason for working.

than twice what it is for all periods (11 per cent.). Only seven per cent. of the women who entered industry during the first year gave desertion as their reason.

In the families established between one and five

years, however, the husband "resigned" more frequently. Desertion accounted for 19 per cent. of the women who sought employment during this interval after marriage. Non-support continued to be a relatively important cause, accounting for 16 per cent. of the entries during these four years. At this time the children were young: 118 of the 152 women had one or more children, the one-child family being the most numerous. (Table XV.)

Non-support was not an important cause of wage-earning for the 165 women who entered industry between five and 10 years after marriage. Desertion continues to be a significant factor, accounting for 18 per cent. The most serious cause of wage-earning at this period is the death of the husband. This cause had been relatively unimportant heretofore, but during this five year period it was responsible for 32 per cent. of the women who entered industry. The family obligations of these women must have been heavy, since 52 of the 150 mothers had two children, while an equal number had three or more children.

Death (31 per cent.) and illness of the husband (20 per cent.), together accounted for half of the wage-earning mothers who went to work during the second decade after marriage. (Table XIV.) Desertion, non-support, preference and low income were comparatively unimportant causes during this period. The families had grown in size by the first half of this decade. Seventy-five of the 140 women had three children or more; 49 had two children.

The 42 women who entered industry after they had been married 20 years or more gave as their reasons, in well over half of the cases, either the

death of husband (12) or preference for wage-earning (11). The proportion in the latter group is particularly high compared with 11 per cent. for all women. The large number who entered within the first year after marriage and before the children were born, and the large proportion who go into industry after the children are presumably old enough to take care of themselves, that is, 20 years or more after marriage, argues the validity of choice as the real reason for wage-earning. Of all married women, these are the ones who are in the best position to choose industrial employment outside of the home.

TABLE XV—SIZE OF FAMILY IN RELATION TO THE INTERVAL BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND WAGE-EARNING¹

Number of children	Total	Mothers who became wage-earners within				
		Less than 1 year	1 to 5 years	5 to 10 years	10 to 15 years	15 years and more
Total	655	120	152	150	140	93
None	152	112	34	4		2
One	168	8	79	42	16	23
Two	147		32	52	49	14
Three	109		7	38	40	24
Four	45			12	17	16
Five and more....	34			2	18	14

¹ This table excludes 50 women who have been married more than once and 23 who did not give complete information.

There are several reasons for the greater frequency of wage-earning during the first decade. The

tendency on the part of the husband to desert or to let his wife support the family usually manifests itself during the first ten years. The premarital wage-earning experience of the wife is still comparatively fresh in her mind, while the maximum earning power of the husband, particularly in the low income groups, has been reached. After ten years, if the husband is incapacitated or dies, there are greater chances of there being savings or a house which can be used as a source of income from lodgers or boarders, and the children are approaching the age when they can earn.

The age at which the women go back to industry after marriage and the reasons they give, as shown in Table XVI, bear out the conclusions suggested previously. The women who entered youngest, who necessarily had been married the shortest time, most frequently returned to work because of insufficient income, non-support and preference. Death and illness of husband had but little effect on the decision of the women under 25 years of age. The women who were between 25 and 35 years of age, however, were frequently forced back by the death, illness or desertion of the chief wage-earner. Death and illness continued to operate upon the women of 35 years of age and under 45 years. When the women reached 45 years or over they were influenced by a desire to work outside of the home or they were forced to do so by widowhood.

Women with no industrial experience before marriage did not return to wage-earning so soon after marriage as did those who had previously worked. Only 22 per cent. of the group with no experience

TABLE XVI—AGE AT WHICH MOTHERS BECAME WAGE-EARNERS IN RELATION TO THE REASON FOR ENTERING INDUSTRY¹

Age at entering industry after marriage	Total	Mothers who ascribe wage-earning after marriage to					
		Insufficient wage	Death of husband	Illness of husband	Desertion	Non-support	Preference
Total	706	201	163	100	94	73	75
Under 25 years	249	88	31	20	33	42	35
25 to 35 years	312	81	84	53	47	23	24
35 to 45 years	122	29	40	24	13	6	10
45 years and over	23	3	8	3	1	2	6

¹ This table excludes 22 of the 728 mothers because of incomplete information.

went to work within the first five years after marriage compared with 41 per cent. of all women. The promptness with which women return to industry does not appear to be modified by the length of the time they were employed before marriage. It is, therefore, probable that industrial experience before marriage is a factor in causing women to return to industry after marriage but the effect does not seem to be commensurate with the number of years of service.

The most significant personal data about the wage-earning mothers and their husbands are: First, a high proportion of widowhood and desertion. Only 14 per cent. of all the households covered in the house-to-house canvass contained no husband, compared

with 55 per cent. of the households of wage-earning mothers.

Second, the support furnished by the husbands who are living and contributing to household expenses is inadequate. Fifty-nine per cent. of the husbands who are at work are earning less than \$25 a week. Unemployment, at the time of the investigation, was not a serious problem in these households since only nine men who were physically able to work were idle. Husbands who have deserted their families are not counted upon by these wage-earning mothers as a source of family support.

Third, the wage-earning mothers in these selected sections are not predominantly of any one nativity group. The mothers who work while their husbands are supporting the family, however, are more frequently found among the foreign-born women (55 per cent.), than among native women with native fathers (37 per cent.), or native with foreign-born fathers (41 per cent.).

Fourth, these mothers, all of whom have at least one child under sixteen years of age, are a group selected on the basis of age and therefore no valid conclusions can be drawn as to the age of the mother who leaves her home to go into industry. It appears that young mothers more frequently work outside their homes than older women, those of thirty-five and over.

Fifth, the likelihood of industrial employment appears to decrease as the interval after marriage lengthens, 63 per cent. of these women began to work within the first ten years after marriage, including 40 per cent. who began in less than five years.

CHAPTER V

THE WAGE-EARNING MOTHER'S HOUSEHOLD

Distinction between families which maintain separate homes and families which do not.

Six hundred of the 728 wage-earning mothers were maintaining separate, independent homes. A family is regarded as maintaining a separate home when it is the principal family in the household.¹ Relatives may share the household, either being dependent upon the family or paying for their own support. In either case they do not assume any responsibility for the financial arrangements of the household. The 128 mothers who do not maintain separate homes share the house with another family, but seldom on a truly cooperative basis. The wage-earning mother and her family, as she describes it, "board" or "just live with" the family which as-

¹The word family is used throughout the study to designate the primary social unit, father, mother and child. The children are regarded as members of the family although they may no longer be living at home. The husband who has deserted or has been divorced is not counted a member of the family. Members of the family who are not living at home, however, are not counted in the household. Persons who are not members of the family, on the other hand, may be included as members of the household.

sumes responsibility for the household. In such homes another woman is the head of the household; the wage-earning mother and her family are there more or less on good behavior.

Three-fourths of the 728 working mothers studied have always been the mistresses of their own homes, while only 46 (6 per cent.) have never assumed full responsibility for the management of households in which they live. (Table XVII.) The others (19 per cent.) have shifted from one status to the other.

TABLE XVII—HOUSEKEEPING EXPERIENCE OF MOTHERS

Marital status	Total	Mothers who are now			
		In own homes		Boarding	
		Always in own homes	Used to board	Used to be in own homes	Always boarded
Total	728	545	55	82	46
Married	328	281	17	14	16
Deserted or divorced	163	92	20	29	22
Widowed	237	172	18	39	8

Fifty-five who used to live with another family have given it up in favor of a separate home, and a larger number, 82, who formerly kept house, have now become members of a composite household which includes a second family.

The families not maintaining separate homes appear from Table XVII to be most numerous among deserted and divorced women. Almost one-third of

the families which have been broken by the voluntary act of one or both parents are further disrupted by the loss of an independent household. The proportion of families boarding falls to about one in five among the widowed women and to one in ten among the women with husbands. There is a strong presumption that the motive back of living with another family is to lower the cost of living.

Almost half (22) of the 46 mothers who never kept house are now deserted, or divorced, while three of the women whose husbands are still living as members of the family entered industry because of non-support. One of the eight widows who never kept house was deserted before she was widowed. Thus, at least 26 of the 46 husbands who did not support a separate establishment after marriage eventually ceased to support the family altogether. Occasionally the wife who boarded seemed to have been encouraged to enter industry by her leisure and freedom from cares in the household. The husband, however, seems to have been much more sensitive to this release from responsibility. It is the husband's reaction under these circumstances which has made the wife a wage-earner.

From the reports of 74 of the 82 women who formerly maintained separate homes it appears that the status of husband is largely responsible for the change. Circumstances connected with the husband led to breaking up the home in 62 cases: desertion (27), death (26), service in army or navy (5), and illness or intemperance (4). The remaining 12 families gave up their homes for a variety of reasons: high prices, 5; to live with relatives, 5;

tired of housework, 1; and no house available, 1. Thirty-one of these women stopped housekeeping in less than six months after beginning to work, 29 made both of these changes at about the same time while 14 had boarded for at least six months before they became wage-earners.

Difference between household and family groups.

The membership of the household is not identical with the membership of the family. Three hundred of the 728 households of wage-earning mothers contain persons outside of the family: in 172 cases a relative or lodger is living in the household and in the remaining 128 cases the family of the wage-earning mother is sharing the household of a relative. The membership of the household differs from that of the family in another respect, namely, that not all of the family are at home. One or more members of the family are absent from 147 (21 per cent.) of the 728 households. (Tables XIX and XX.)

Husband, wife and three children do not constitute the household of the industrial family, if the eleven thousand and more homes visited can be said to establish a norm. The far more usual household group consists of husband, wife and one or two children with occasionally a relative, lodger or both. There are less than three children or none at all in 63 per cent. of these households, and there are relatives or lodgers in 25 per cent. of the homes. Table XVIII shows that the two largest groups classified according to number of children and number of relatives and

TABLE XVIII—COMPOSITION OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS IN THE SIX SELECTED SECTIONS¹

Position of wife and husband in household	Households which contain parents or parent and													
	Total	No children and		1 child and		2 children and		3 children and		4 children and		5 children or more and		
		No Oth-ers ²	Oth-ers	No Oth-ers	Oth-ers	No Oth-ers	Oth-ers	No Oth-ers	Oth-ers	No Oth-ers	Oth-ers	No Oth-ers	Oth-ers	
Number														
Total	10782	1433	600	1735	684	1768	585	1269	338	898	207	1040	225	
Husband in household, wife not working...	7753	949	364	1260	417	1340	374	970	231	695	150	837	166	
Husband in household, wife working	1515	397	110	210	87	212	65	132	43	102	16	112	29	
Husband not in household, wife not working	801	30	47	155	72	134	86	91	36	57	18	55	20	
Husband not in household, wife working.	713	57	79	110	108	82	60	76	28	44	23	36	10	
Per Cent.														
Total	100.0	13.2	5.6	16.0	6.4	16.4	5.5	11.8	3.1	8.4	1.9	9.7	2.0	
Husband in household, wife not working..	7.9	12.2	4.7	16.3	5.4	17.2	4.9	12.6	2.9	8.9	1.9	10.8	2.2	
Husband in household, wife working	14.0	26.2	7.2	13.9	5.8	13.9	4.2	8.8	2.9	6.8	1.0	7.4	1.9	
Husband not in household, wife not working	7.4	3.8	5.9	19.3	8.9	16.8	10.8	11.3	4.5	7.1	2.2	6.9	2.5	
Husband not in household, wife working.	6.7	7.9	11.0	15.5	15.1	11.5	8.5	10.7	3.9	6.2	3.2	5.0	1.5	

¹ In 41 of the 10,823 households from which information was obtained about the children, it is not known if there are relatives or lodgers.

² "Others" include relatives and lodgers.

lodgers are 1768 households (16 per cent.) in which there are two children and no outsiders, and 1735 (16 per cent.) with one child and no one in addition to the family. These two groups, together, constitute about one-third of the total number of house-

TABLE XIX—COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS OF WAGE-EARNING MOTHERS LIVING IN SEPARATE HOMES

Adults in household	Total	Households in which the number of children is					
		None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five or more
Total	600	9	175	184	105	70	57
Wife, husband ¹	233	4	63	70	39	33	24
Wife, husband, and 1 other	45		10	17	12	2	4
Wife, husband, 2 or more others	20		6	4	4	3	3
Wife	195	4	54	60	34	21	22
Wife, 1 other	70	1	27	23	9	8	2
Wife, 2 or more others	37		15	10	7	3	2

¹ Husbands who are absent temporarily have been included as members of the household in 20 instances.

holds from which complete returns were obtained. Over two thousand households, almost one in every five, had no children, while nearly four thousand (37 per cent.) had three or more children. The proportion of households with persons other than the immediate family declines from 30 per cent. in the

case of the childless families to 18 per cent. in families with five or more children.

When the childless households are eliminated from consideration families maintaining separate homes appear to have a larger proportion of one-child and two-child households (61 per cent.) than the households of the survey group (45 per cent.). A comparison of Tables XVIII and XIX shows that lodgers and relatives, are, however, more frequent in homes of working mothers (29 per cent.) than in the other homes (25 per cent.). The two largest groups of households among the wage-earning mothers, as in the survey group, consist of two children with no relatives or lodgers (130), and one child with no one outside the immediate family (117).

The presence of children in the household, no matter how many or of what age, tends to keep women from gainful occupation. In the households covered in the preliminary canvass almost one-third of the women with no children were wage-earners. The tabulation presented below shows that as the number of children increases to five or more this proportion is cut in half. Table XV shows that at the time mothers enter industry their families are comparatively small. The remarkable fact is, not that a large family limits a mother's extra-domestic employment, but that so high a proportion of women with more than three children, one in every six, is able to work. The coincidence of small families and gainful employment may be variously interpreted: it may indicate on the one hand, that economic pressure is more keenly felt when the families are small and the children presumably young and unable to con-

tribute to the family support. On the other hand, it may mean that the mother seeks gainful employment when the family is small but gives it up later as the family increases in size and her responsibilities at home become greater.

	<i>Total Number</i>	<i>Per Cent. in Which Mother Works</i>
Households with no children	2,033	31.7
Households with one child	2,419	21.3
Households with two children	2,353	18.2
Households with three children	1,607	17.4
Households with four children	1,105	16.8
Households with five or more children	1,265	14.8

The presence or absence of the husband in the household appears to be an important factor in determining whether or not members other than the immediate family shall be taken into the home. Of the survey group of approximately 11,000 households, only 22 per cent. of those which included a husband had relatives or lodgers, while of the households without a husband, 39 per cent. contained these outsiders. (Table XVIII.) When the wife is at work and there is no husband, the probability that someone outside the immediate family will live with them is greater (43 per cent. report the presence of relatives or lodgers). The frequency of relatives in these homes is probably due to the mother's desire for protection and companionship as much as to the need of the additional contribution.

The same difference between families with husbands and families without husbands in the matter of relatives and lodgers obtains among the 600 women who are maintaining their own homes, 23 per cent. of the former and 35 per cent. of the latter

group reporting that relatives or lodgers live with them. The following percentages for the 600 cases run counter to the general belief that foreign-born families are especially prone to combine their resources:

	<i>Per Cent. with Relatives or Lodgers in Household</i>
Married mothers, native, with native father....	26.9
Married mothers, native, with foreign father...	33.9
Married mothers, foreign-born	15.2
Deserted, divorced, widowed mothers, native, with native father	45.1
Deserted, divorced, widowed mothers, native, with foreign father	43.6
Deserted, divorced, widowed mothers, foreign- born	19.8

The relatives who live with the wage-earning mothers fall into three groups: those who are more or less dependent because of their age, those who are in their prime and capable of self-support, and, finally, those who are dependent because of their youth. The relationship of these persons to the mother in 157 households is:

	<i>Deserted, Divorced and</i>	<i>Married Widowed</i>
Father or father-in-law	7	3
Mother or mother-in-law	18	28
Grandmother	—	1
Uncle	2	3
Aunt	4	2
Brother or brother-in-law	2	14
Sister or sister-in-law	6	32
Cousin	2	6
Son-in-law	1	—
Nephew or niece	5	12
Grandchild	6	3

Of the 157 households which include relatives (lodgers excluded) there were but six in which relatives made no contribution either of money or service. These relatives were fathers in two instances, nephews and nieces, two, and grand-children, two. The relatives living in widows' households are usually self-supporting. Seventy-nine of these 104 households receive contributions of money or money and service from relatives while 22 include mothers, grandmothers, aunts or sisters who contribute service only.

The lodgers in the homes of the wage-earning mothers sometimes live in the household on practically the same footing as members of the family (44 cases), but more frequently they merely sleep in the house (57 cases). The large number of persons who sleep in the household but do not eat with the family is largely due to the arrangements which prevail in the home of many foreign-born women. The working mother sub-lets a room of her house to another family. The mother of the second family takes care of the working mother's children during the day and helps with the housework. As compensation she and her family live practically rent-free in the household, and sometimes she is paid an additional sum for her services. The presence of such lodgers obviously relieves the wage-earning mother of household cares.

When the mother is boarding with another family she and her children become the outsiders in the household. All but 11 of the 128 women not maintaining homes were boarding with relatives. The heads of the families with which they live are close relatives who feel responsible for their welfare. The

women turn to their own parents most frequently when they give up their own homes. Although 87 live with their parents or their husband's parents, only one woman lives in a household headed by her mother-in-law. They also show a preference for sharing the home of a sister (16 cases) rather than of a brother (1 case). The brothers, no doubt, are making their contribution to the support of their wives' semi-dependent sisters. The other relatives with whom the mothers and their families live are: uncle, 3; aunt, 2; cousin, 2; son or daughter, 4; grandfather or grandmother, 2.

The husbands of 35 of the 328 married women were away from home. (Table XX.) Twenty-three men were in the army or navy. Thirteen of their families were boarding and 10 were maintaining independent homes. The other 12 men away from home were in institutions and appear to be permanently incapacitated. Three of them were insane, four had tuberculosis, two had sciatic rheumatism, one had had a severe accident and the other two had chronic disorders of the heart and kidneys, respectively. One of the tubercular husbands was receiv-

TABLE XX—MEMBERS OF FAMILY LIVING AWAY FROM HOME

Members of family away	Total	Married	Deserted, divorced, widowed
Total	728	328	400
None	581	260	321
One child	75	23	52
Two or more children.....	37	10	27
Husband	31	31	
Husband and one child.....	4	4	

ing care at a home maintained by a fraternal organization. There are no data to show what provision had been made for the care of the others.

A total of 174 children are absent from 106 of the 728 households. One hundred (30 whose ages have not been reported and 70 who were fifteen years of age or over) appear from Table XXI to be taking care of themselves without expense to the family, including 24 in the army or navy. The majority of the latter made an allotment of pay in favor of their mothers but none of these older children seem to have been contributing enough to support the household. The 74 children reported to be under fifteen

TABLE XXI—PRESENT RESIDENCE OF CHILDREN NOT LIVING AT HOME

Present residence	Total	Children whose age is				
		Under 5 years	5 and under 10 years	10 and under 15 years	15 years and over	Not re-ported
Total	174	12	34	28	70	30
With relatives	27	4	10	7	5	1
In homes of their own	25				14	11
In the army or navy	24				18	6
Boarded out ¹	17	3	5	5	4	
In school	16		7	4	5	
In orphanage	15	3	7	4	1	
In foreign country ²	14		3	7	4	
In hospital	4	2	1	1		
Not reported	32		1		19	12

¹ This group includes three children who are away in the country, probably earning their own support.

² Usually with relatives.

years of age were not in a position to make any contribution to the family. The families were responsible for the support of a few especially those who were living with relatives or boarding. The mother usually paid from \$2.50 to \$5.00 a week for the board of the child. Young children in hospitals, institutions, schools or reformatories were taken care of without expense to the family. Occasionally a mother paid a small amount to meet the expenses of children in schools but such payments were the exception rather than the rule.

Contributors to household expenses.

To whom but the mother could these 728 families have turned for support? Over half of them (400) contained no husband. In addition, 35 husbands, including 12 unemployed, were away and unable to assume full responsibility for wage-earning, while 32 husbands were at home but were not working. Almost two-thirds of them, in all, could not rely on the husbands. Less than one-fifth of all these 728 women, 134 in their own homes and eight boarding, had a child 16 years of age or over at home. The members of the family away from home could not be relied upon for contributions since those who were not themselves dependent upon the family were barely self-supporting. Revenue from relatives or lodgers was not common enough to serve as a substitute for wage-earning by the mother.² A detailed statement

²In the following discussion relatives living in the 600 independent households have been regarded as wage-earners contributing to the support of the family. The contribution of relatives in the other 128 families is not known because the study was limited to the family of the wage-earning mother.

of wage-earners in the 600 families maintaining separate homes follows:

Wife only	182
Wife and husband	189
Wife, husband, child under 16	12
Wife, husband, child over 16	37
Wife, husband, children over and under 16	8
Wife, husband, child under 16, relative	1
Wife, husband, child over 16, relative	2
Wife, husband, relative	8
Wife, relative	45
Wife, child under 16	27
Wife, children over and under 16	14
Wife, child over 16	67
Wife, child over 16, relative	5
Wife, child under 16, relative	3

At the time of the study, the mother, in something over one-third of these families (182 living in separate homes and 94 boarding) was the sole wage-earner for the family. Both wife and husband were working in one-fourth of the families (189 independent households and one boarding family), while the wife, together with the husband and children or relatives, were working in 81 households (13 boarding). The wife and children were supporting 128 households (20 boarding) while in the remaining 53 homes (all independent households) the wife was assisted by either children or children and relatives.

The amount of wage-earning among relatives in the household does not indicate the full extent of their contribution. Although only about half of them, 76 out of 157, were employed, 75 of those not working were making a contribution, principally of services, to the household. These relatives who rendered services only were probably not depend-

ent upon the family. Both they and the family lived more economically because of the cooperation. The age of the relatives appears to determine the nature of the contribution. The older relatives, living with the married women in such large numbers, did not make monetary payments to the household so frequently as did the younger adults. Forty-one per cent. of the relatives sharing the homes of married women, as compared with 76 per cent. of those living with deserted and widowed women, contributed money, often in addition to services.

The contributions which the lodgers make to the household appear to cover their cost. The money payment of lodgers, however, does not measure the full extent of their assistance. (Table XXII.) Their services are so highly regarded by some of the mar-

TABLE XXII—WEEKLY SUMS PAID BY LODGERS¹

Amount	Total	Number of lodgers who pay			
		Married women for		Deserted, divorced and widowed women for	
		Lodging only	Board and lodging	Lodging only	Board and lodging
Total	101	28	14	29	30
Less than \$1.....	29	13	5	9	2
\$1 to \$3.....	33	10	1	18	4
\$3 to \$5.....	13	5	3	2	3
\$5 to \$7.....	12		2		10
\$7 and more.....	14		3		11

¹ Information is incomplete for four of the 105 lodgers.

ried women, especially the foreign-born, that they pay the lodger a small amount, in addition to giving her a room gratis, for taking care of the house and the children during the day. A Polish woman, whose husband is a laborer earning \$20 a week, leaves her two children under the care of "the lady" who lives with the family. In return for this service the lodger received board and room for \$1.00 a week.

Since relatives and lodgers figure in the households of only 33 per cent. of the wage-earning married women, and since only half of them make a monetary contribution to the household, it is impossible to regard them as a possible substitute for employment on the part of the mother. Relatives and lodgers are, however, more important as a source of revenue in the families which are without husbands. They appear more frequently in such households (36 per cent.) and lodgers render larger financial assistance to the household. Their payments are not large enough to make it practicable for the mothers to give up wage-earning.

When the wage-earning mother and her family are boarding with relatives the contribution of the latter takes the form of a discount, since she and her family are given maintenance without cost or at a reduced rate. Thirty-nine of the 128 mothers, nine married women and 30 widowed or divorced, pay no definite amount to the household. They "just live with" the other family. Twenty-four of the mothers pay a more or less definite sum to the support of the household each week but they do not state the amount, while the remaining 65 state definitely what they pay. (Table XXIII.) Over half

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of them pay from \$5 to \$10 a week, although the amount varies greatly. The assistance which they sometimes afford the housewife may be a consideration in lowering the rates. It is evident that it does not cost as much to board as to maintain a separate home.

TABLE XXIII—AMOUNT PAID WEEKLY BY MOTHERS FOR BOARD AND ROOM¹

Amount	Total	Mothers whose payment covers expenses of self and			
		No children	One child	Two children	Three or more children
Total	65	5	40	13	7
Less than \$5.....	7	2	3	2	
\$5 to \$10.....	36	3	24	7	2
\$10 and more....	22		13	4	5

¹ Of the 128 women who board, 29 make no payment, 24 do not state the amount paid. The remaining 65 are included in this table.

A significant feature of the household arrangements of these 728 wage-earning mothers is the extent to which they combine with other families and individuals. Seventeen per cent. were living with another family while 29 per cent. of those who had their own homes were sharing them with relatives or lodgers, thus 300 families, or 41 per cent. of the total, were without a home entirely to themselves. There is no direct evidence to show that relatives and lodgers were taken into the home to reduce expenses but it seems obvious that families

board because it is more economical, especially when the children are young and few in number. The wage-earning mother does not work when, or because, her family is large. It appears rather that her family is small compared with the households even in the neighborhoods where one or two children are more frequent than three. Older children as well as relatives and lodgers contributed to the support of the families in which they were found but they were not significant factors in family upkeep. When the wage of the husband proved inadequate or ceased entirely, the potential wage-earning power of the mother constituted the principal income resource within the family.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY INCOME

Present family income.

Three-fifths of the families of wage-earning mothers were living on an income which is less than the standard set for a family consisting of husband, wife and three children under working age. The investigations of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia set the standard for a family of this size at \$1,633.79 a year, or \$31.42 a week, in 1918.¹ Since 64 per cent. of these 728 families include less than three children the same standard of living can be maintained for them at a slightly lower cost. According to the Bureau's standard a child of six consumes 13 per cent. of the allowance for food and 11 per cent. of the allowance for clothes. It is not possible from the data given to determine the amount of the incidental expenses due to the presence of a child of this age. If a conservative estimate were made, however, and a reduction of 10 per cent. allowed in the whole standard for a child of six, the resulting cost of the minimum standard for hus-

¹ *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia*, especially pp. 55 and 67. This study forms an excellent basis of comparison with the wage-earning mothers because the data for both were collected in 1918.

band, wife and two young children would be about \$3 a week less than the figure cited.

More than twice as many married women living in their own homes have weekly incomes of \$30 or over (72 per cent.) as of married women who do not have homes (35 per cent.). (Table XXIV.) When the chief wage-earner is absent the proportion with \$30 a week or more decreases to 22 per cent. of those who have separate homes and to seven per cent. of those who board. This difference in income levels accords, in general, with the variation in size of household. The married women in their own homes have the largest households, both

TABLE XXIV—PRESENT FAMILY INCOME IN RELATION TO MARITAL AND HOME STATUS OF MOTHERS¹

Status of mother	Total	Family income				
		Under \$10	\$10 to \$20	\$20 to \$30	\$30 to \$40	\$40 and over ²
Total	696	37	221	152	134	152
Married, in separate homes	280	5	28	44	89	114
Married, not in separate homes..	29	1	9	9	5	5
Deserted, divorced or widowed, in separate homes..	299	22	129	81	36	31
Deserted, divorced or widowed, not in separate homes	88	9	55	18	4	2

¹ Thirty-two women did not give complete information about income.

² One hundred and three, \$40 to \$50; 39, \$50 to \$60; 10, \$60 and over.

because the husband is at home and because there are more children. The women without husbands, who board, have the smallest families as well as the lowest incomes.

The women who went to work while the husband was contributing to family support show a larger

TABLE XXV—PRESENT FAMILY INCOME IN RELATION TO REASON ASSIGNED FOR WAGE-EARNING¹

Reasons	Total	Family income				
		Under \$10	\$10 to \$20	\$20 to \$30	\$30 to \$40	\$40 and over
Total	694	37	220	152	134	151
Insufficient wage of husband	199	7	38	41	61	52
Death of husband.	154	15	66	37	15	21
Illness of husband.	100	4	38	19	18	21
Desertion by husband	93	6	43	29	8	7
Non-support by husband	77	5	28	20	16	8
Personal preference	71		7	6	16	42

¹ This table excludes 34 of the 728 mothers because of incomplete information.

proportion in the higher income groups at the present time than those who entered under other conditions. (Table XXV.) The fact that so many of the mothers who went to work because of the husband's illness reported incomes of less than \$30 a week at the time they were interviewed shows that although some of the men recovered and were earn-

ing their former wages, death or only partial recovery are the more usual outcome of these cases of illness of the chief wage-earner. The women who entered industry because of desertion or widowhood had the lowest incomes at the time of this study. Weekly incomes have thus remained highest among those women whose necessity for wage-earning at the time they went to work appears to have been least urgent. The homes in which the conditions showed the widest departure from the normal economic standard are the ones still supported least adequately.

Whenever the present income of a family is high, however, the approximate wage of the wife must be subtracted in order to measure the force which is keeping her in industry. It is the realization of what the family income would be without her contribution that keeps the mother at work. The reasons for which the woman entered industry must not be confused with the actual economic condition of the family at present.

Income when the mother went to work.

The income at the time the mother went to work measures the economic pressure which was sufficient to send her into industry. In order to test the validity of the woman's stated reason for working it is necessary, therefore, to consider the economic conditions which prevailed in the home at the time she became a wage-earner. Table XXVI shows for 150 married women who have worked continuously the family income at the time of entering industry

and the number of years they have worked. Almost half, 73, had incomes of less than \$20 a week at the time. The rise of prices in recent years has evidently raised the point at which the husband's wage becomes inadequate since approximately three in every five who went to work in the last three years (1915 to 1918) had incomes of \$20 a week or more

TABLE XXVI—AMOUNT OF WEEKLY INCOME WHEN MARRIED WOMEN BECAME WAGE-EARNERS ¹

Weekly income	Total	Mothers who have worked	
		Less than 3 years	3 years and more
Total	150	101	49
Less than \$10.....	30	21	9
\$10 to \$20.....	43	21	22
\$20 to \$30.....	55	43	12
\$30 to \$40.....	18	14	4
\$40 and more.....	4	2	2

¹ Because of incomplete returns this table excludes 99 of the 249 married women who remained in industry continuously after they entered.

at the time compared with only two in five who began more than three years ago (before 1915).

Analysis of the facts relating to the 77 women who worked because of insufficient wage of husband shows even more plainly that the income which is felt by the mother to be too low to meet the needs of her family has moved up with the increased cost of living and the decrease of real wages. Although it is impossible to estimate to what extent these

families felt economic pressure it is evident that they were living within a close margin of their income because of the nice adjustment between the wage which proves insufficient and the rising cost of living.

	<i>Family Income at Time</i>	
	<i>Less Than \$20 a Week</i>	<i>\$20 or More a Week</i>
Mothers working less than 1 year	3	10
Mothers working 1 to 3 years	11	22
Mothers working 3 to 5 years	10	4
Mothers working 5 years or more ..	11	6

Only one in five of the women whose husbands were living represent families which had any savings when they entered industry (57 out of 272). In the other homes there was no accumulation which could possibly have made wage-earning by

TABLE XXVII—AMOUNT OF FAMILY SAVINGS WHEN MARRIED WOMEN BECAME WAGE-EARNERS ¹

Reasons for wage-earning	Total	Number of families which had		
		No savings	Less than \$100	\$100 or more
Total	272	215	19	38
Insufficient wage of husband	142	118	9	15
Illness of husband..	61	49	3	9
Non-support by husband	20	19	1	
Personal preference	49	29	6	14

¹ This table excludes 56 of the 328 women whose husbands are living now, 49 who did not give complete information, one who was deserted for a time, and six who have been married a second time.

the wife unnecessary. (Table XXVII.) The group most fortunate in this respect, as might be expected, came from among 49 women who worked from choice. Two-fifths of the group (20) had savings ranging from "a little in the bank" to \$2000 in a building and loan association. Savings were less frequent among the women who reported that they worked because of low income (24 out of 142). Fifteen of them had more than \$100, but the amount seldom exceeded \$500. One family, having accumulated \$500, bought a piano after the wife went to work. The savings in these and other families are often in the form of liberty bonds.² The families in which the husband was living but not contributing at the time had not saved much. Only one of 20 women who went to work because of non-support by the husband had saved any money. Twelve of the 61 husbands whose illness was the cause of the wife's wage-earning had savings at the time, \$100 or more in nine cases.

Income from members of the household.

These 728 families are industrial, wage-earning families and naturally their most important sources of income are wages of the father, mother or children. Table XXVIII shows that over four-fifths of them were dependent upon wages as their principal source of income. When wages are not the sole source they still form the major part of

² It is impossible to tell from the mother's statement if the payments on the bond had been completed when she went to work but it is highly probable that the bonds in the majority of cases were not paid for.

the income with contributions from relatives living in the household or revenue from lodgers as the supplementary income. Such contributions occur only when the mother is maintaining a home of her own. When she is living with relatives her ex-

TABLE XXVIII—PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF FAMILY INCOME IN RELATION TO MARITAL AND HOME STATUS OF MOTHERS ¹

Status of mothers	Total	Mothers whose principal sources of income are wages and		
		No other	Relatives	Lodgers
Total	696	565	64	67
Married, in separate homes	280	242	15	23
Married, not in separate homes ..	29	29		
Deserted, divorced, widowed, in separate homes	299	206	49	44 ²
Deserted, divorced, widowed, not in separate homes ..	88	88		

¹ Thirty-two of the 728 mothers did not state their principal source of income.

² This group includes lodgers and relatives in six cases.

penses are reduced but, as a rule, there is no direct addition to her money income. Contributions from relatives and revenue from lodgers appear to be most frequent among deserted and widowed women who are maintaining homes of their own. Almost one-third of these women derive income from such sources as compared with about one-seventh of the married women in their homes.

Table XXIX shows that among the married women maintaining homes of their own there is a very definite connection between the amount of the family incomes and the source or sources from which it is derived. In the 33 households supported on an income of less than \$10 or between \$10 and \$20 a week the wife is the only wage-earner in 15 instances. Both husband and wife are at work in 31 of 44 families with incomes ranging from \$20 to \$30 a week, while husband, wife and children are at work in only four of these families. When the income is \$30 and under \$40 the wife and sometimes the children have assumed responsibility for wage-earning. Husband and wife are employed in 61 of 89 families, and husband, wife and children in 18. Family incomes of \$40 or more show an increasing number of instances when the wages of the members of the family are supplemented by payments from relatives and lodgers.

Divorced and widowed women maintaining homes of their own find themselves unable to keep up a minimum standard and they therefore look to members of the household other than the immediate family. Only 69 per cent. of them are supported by wages of the family alone compared with 86 per cent. of the married women in their own homes. As the income increases, up to but not including the \$30 to \$40 group, the money coming from the family alone decreases. Of the 67 families with incomes over \$30, the mother unaided earns this amount in only three instances; in 38 families the children assist her, in 13 instances her wages are supplemented by payments from relatives or lodgers

TABLE XXIX—AMOUNT AND PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF PRESENT
INCOME OF MOTHERS LIVING IN SEPARATE HOMES¹

Principal sources of income	Total	Total weekly income				
		Less than \$10	\$10 to \$20	\$20 to \$30	\$30 to \$40	\$40 and more
Married						
Total	280	5	28	44	89	114
Wages of wife....	22	4	11	4	3	
Wages of wife and husband	160	1	9	31	63	56
Wages of wife and children	12		5	2	1	4
Wages of husband, wife and children	48		1	4	15	28
Relatives and wages of wife..	1					1
Relatives, wages of wife and husband	7			1	1	5
Relatives, wages of wife, husband and children	7				2	5
Lodgers and wages of wife	3		2	1		
Lodgers, wages of wife and husband	17			1	3	13
Lodgers, wages of wife and children	3				1	2
Deserted, Divorced, Widowed						
Total	299	22	129	81	36	31
Wages of wife....	130	16	93	18	2	1
Wages of wife and children	76	3	8	27	19	19
Relatives and wages of wife	38	3	12	16	3	4
Relatives, wages of wife and children	11			2	6	3
Relatives, lodgers and wages of wife	6		1	3	1	1
Lodgers and wages of wife	24		11	9	3	1
Lodgers, wages of wife and children	14		4	6	2	2

¹ Eighteen of the 298 married and three of the 302 deserted, divorced and widowed women maintaining separate homes did not report the amount of their income.

or both. In 13 cases the combined wages of mother and children are thus supplemented.

The women who are not maintaining separate homes, married, deserted, divorced and widowed alike, are dependent upon wages for their principal source of income. Among the 88 women without husbands who reported the wages are usually those of the wife alone since only five are assisted by their children. Of the 29 married women who reported, 25 state that the husband is also a wage-earner and two have children who work.

It is evident from the small number of wage-earners in the family and in the household, that the mother is practically indispensable as a wage-earner if the present income is to continue. If her contribution is compared with that of the other wage-earners, when there are any, it is still more obvious that without her wage the family would be forced to rely upon some source of income outside the family and household. (Table XXX.) In fact, if her earnings were subtracted from the family income there would, in many cases, be very little left. The smaller the income, the greater the proportion the woman contributes, but since her wage seldom exceeds, or even reaches \$20, it is evident that she cannot make up the major part of the income when it is \$40 or more. The mother's contribution has apparently raised the family financially above the margin of subsistence.

The support of the family falls solely upon the mother in a large proportion of the broken homes. Thus among the 184 families of deserted, divorced and widowed women with weekly incomes ranging

TABLE XXX—THE MOTHERS' CONTRIBUTION TO FAMILY INCOMES¹

Family weekly income	Total	Mothers whose weekly wage is				
		Under \$5	\$5 to \$10	\$10 to \$15	\$15 to \$20	\$20 and over
Married						
Total	307	17	63	106	91	30
Under \$10	6		6			
\$10 to \$20.....	37	4	5	17	11	
\$20 to \$30.....	53	3	17	19	10	4
\$30 to \$40.....	93	4	19	41	27	2
\$40 and over.....	118	6	16	29	43	24
Deserted, Divorced and Widowed						
Total	387	9	73	177	101	27
Under \$5	31	1	30			
\$10 to \$20.....	184	3	20	105	56	
\$20 to \$30.....	99	2	12	47	24	14
\$30 to \$40.....	40	1	5	16	10	8
\$40 and over.....	33	2	6	9	11	5

¹ Because of incomplete information this table excludes 21 of the 328 married women and 13 of the 400 deserted, divorced and widowed.

from \$10 to \$20 a week, the mother's wage also falls within these limits in 161 cases. Among those families whose income is less than \$10 a week practically the whole dependence is upon the very slender support of the wife.

If the mother should cease to be a wage-earner the entire family income would be practically wiped out when it is less than \$10 a week. The major

part of an income of less than \$20 a week would disappear with the cessation of wage-earning on her part, about one-half of the incomes between \$20 and \$30 would disappear while the incomes of \$40 or over a week would be reduced to about one-half or three-fourths of their present size.

Income from sources outside the household.

In addition to the principal sources of income already discussed, *i.e.*, wages of members of the family and payments from relatives and lodgers in the household, there are occasionally other sources of revenue. The foregoing discussion of money income deals with the amount from all sources, within the household and from outside. Income from outside the household, either money or kind, is reported by 22 married women, including one who boards, and 108 deserted, divorced or widowed women. The latter group includes 27 boarding families.

Five married women and 19 deserted, divorced or widowed women report free assistance in child care, from either institutions or relatives outside the household. Three married women report free institutional care for husbands. Ninety-four of the remaining 103 women who reported income from outside the household indicated the sources shown in the table on the following page.

The families receiving income, either in money or kind, from relatives, friends, and, in one instance, from sub-letting a part of their living quarters, have relied upon their own resources. The families

	<i>Deserted, Divorced and Married Widowed</i>	
Income from deserted or divorced husband	—	36
Income from relative or friend not in household	4	23
Income from social agency	1	12
Income from Mothers' Assistance Fund	—	6
Income from workmen's compensation	3	3
Income from lodge	3	2
Income from rent from tenant	1	—

which derive support from a deserting or divorced husband are also financially independent of outside agencies although the intervention of such agencies is often necessary to secure this contribution. The remaining 30 families, on the other hand, receive aid from sources entirely outside of the family: the state (12), social agencies (13), and fraternal organizations (5).

The assistance received by these mothers from sources outside of the family and household does not amount to much. Over half of the women who made definite statements concerning the amount (37 out of 70) get between \$5 and \$10 weekly. The husband, and the employer under the compensation law, make the largest contributions, \$10 and over. Six of the eight families assisted by social agencies are receiving less than \$5 a week. The supplementary income is found among the families which have the slenderest resources. One-fourth of 221 families with incomes of \$10 and less than \$20 are known to be accepting help from some source outside the family and household, while one-fifth of 152 in the next income group, \$20 to \$30,

and less than one-tenth of 286 in the higher income groups, have recourse to these sources.

Aid from social agencies.

Although scarcely more than one-sixth of the 728 mothers are now aided in any way from outside of the family, 295 households or two fifths (90 with living husbands and 205 without) are known to one or more social agencies in Philadelphia. The records of the Philadelphia Registration Bureau show that these 295 families have appeared in 848 different registrations. The extent to which these 728 families have been registered by social agencies does not, however, afford even an approximate measure of the amount of dependency which may exist among them. The family may have come in contact with the social service department of a hospital, for example, without being in any sense dependent. Other families registered by relief agencies may have been given no aid. Not all of the families known to social agencies, on the other hand, have been registered. Seventy of the nursery cases, in particular, are not registered as such. So far as registration goes these mothers compare very favorably with the group of 370 wage-earning mothers considered in *Mothers Who Must Earn* where 62 per cent. were known to charitable organizations. The West Side families, however, were practically selected on the basis of dependency.

When the type of agency which registered the wage-earning mother is compared with all registra-

tions in Philadelphia the nature of her problem is clearly apparent. In this comparison re-registrations by the same agency are excluded. The classification used by the Registration Bureau has been followed. The first three types listed in Table XXXI are self-explanatory. Public agencies include municipal departments such as the Bureau for Compulsory Education, Division of Child Hygiene, Children's Agent of the Department of Public Health and Charity, House of Detention, *etc.* The miscellaneous agencies include those which do not fall into any one of the other categories and deal largely with young girls.

TABLE XXXI—KIND OF SOCIAL AGENCIES REGISTERING MOTHERS' FAMILIES WITH THE PHILADELPHIA REGISTRATION BUREAU¹

	Total number	Per cent. of cases registered by				
		Relief agencies	Children's agencies	Medical agencies	Public agencies	Miscellaneous agencies
Philadelphia registrations, January to September, 1919...	39,700	71.0	9.9	11.8	2.1	5.2
Registrations of 90 married mothers ..	247	40.1	21.0	21.5	12.6	4.8
Registrations of 205 deserted, divorced and widowed mothers	601	40.2	25.1	17.9	13.0	3.8

¹ This table excludes 1141 Philadelphia cases registered more than once by the same agency. The data were secured from unpublished records of the Registration Bureau.

Relief cases are proportionately only half as numerous among wage-earning mothers as among all the cases registered from January to September, 1919. The mothers, however, appear far more frequently in the cases registered by children's agencies. The significant fact, from the point of view of income, is the comparative infrequency of relief cases. These working mothers, so far as the nature of their appeals for assistance are indicative, are an eminently self-supporting group.

The supposition that these mothers appeal to agencies largely for assistance other than financial is further borne out by the fact that the number of cases registered after the mother enters industry and contributes a money income is greater than before she worked. Table XXXII shows that 116 of the 295 families were first known to a social agency before they became wage-earners (including 60 re-registered after entering industry) while 178 cases were registered only after the mother had been employed. It is probable that the need for assistance from children's agencies was greater after the mother became a wage-earner than before.

The women in broken homes have made the most extensive use of social agencies. Almost twice as many of the women without husbands (205 out of 399) have been registered by social agencies as of married women (89 out of 327). (Table XXXII.) The married women whose husbands were contributing at the time they entered industry, *i.e.*, those who preferred to work and those who worked because of low income, were least frequently known to agencies. The women whose husbands were

TABLE XXXII—RELATION OF MOTHERS TO SOCIAL AGENCIES AND THEIR REASONS FOR WAGE-EARNING¹

Reasons	Total	Not regis- tered by social agency	Registered by social agency		
			Before work- ing	Since work- ing	Before and since work- ing
Married					
Total	326	237	28	52	9
Insufficient wage of husband	158	112	16	25	5
Death of husband.....	7	7			
Illness of husband....	66	45	6	11	4
Desertion by husband..	2	1		1	
Non-support by hus- band	25	17	2	6	
Personal preference ..	68	55	4	9	
Deserted, Divorced and Widowed					
Total	399	194	28	126	51
Insufficient wage of husband	50	28	3	15	4
Death of husband.....	157	72	14	51	20
Illness of husband....	35	18	3	11	3
Desertion by husband..	92	51	5	25	11
Non-support by hus- band	54	19	2	21	12
Personal preference ..	11	6	1	3	1

¹Two of the 328 married women and one of the 400 deserted, divorced and widowed women did not state their reason for entering industry.

living but not contributing, *i.e.*, those who worked because of illness or non-support, are registered a

little more frequently than the group just cited. The women who are now deserted, divorced, or widowed but who entered industry while the husband was living at home but not contributing to the support of the family, show the highest proportion, almost two-thirds, known to social agencies.

The present income of the family is not indicative of present or past contact with social agencies. It appears from Table XXXIII that many of the families, especially among deserted and widowed

TABLE XXXIII—RELATION OF MOTHERS IN EACH INCOME GROUP TO SOCIAL AGENCIES¹

Family weekly income	Total	Not registered by social agency	Registered by social agency
Married			
Total	309	226	83
Less than \$10.....	6	3	3
\$10 to \$20.....	37	25	12
\$20 to \$30.....	53	38	15
\$30 to \$40.....	94	63	31
\$40 and more.....	119	97	22
Deserted, Divorced and Widowed			
Total	387	188	199
Less than \$10.....	31	10	21
\$10 to \$20.....	184	97	87
\$20 to \$30.....	99	44	55
\$30 to \$40.....	40	21	19
\$40 and more.....	33	16	17

¹ Nineteen of the 328 married women and 13 of the 400 deserted, divorced and widowed women did not give complete information and are therefore excluded.

women, which were in the most favorable economic position at the time of the study had been known to a social agency. Since many of these registrations were probably quite old, the families had had an opportunity to improve their economic position meantime. When the registration represented an emergency, such as an illness in the family, especially of the chief wage-earner, the passing of the emergency brought the income back to normal. Since appeals for relief are a comparatively unimportant factor in registered cases, the economic condition of the family cannot be accepted as the only measure of the need of assistance.

The nativity of the mother does not appear to have had any consistent effect on her relation to social agencies. The foreign-born married women have been more independent (24 per cent. registered) than the native women (30 per cent. registered). The foreign-born deserted, divorced and widowed women, however, are more often known to a social agency (58 per cent.) than are the native women (52 per cent.).

The present income of these 728 families, even with the mother's contribution, is low. Fifty-nine per cent. of the families are living on less than \$30 a week, 37 per cent. on less than \$20, and five per cent. on less than \$10 a week. If the mothers' contributions were removed, however, the families would practically be reduced to destitution, especially those in the lower income groups. Incomes of less than \$10, as well as incomes ranging from \$10 to \$20, would disappear in almost all instances if the mother should cease to earn. Incomes between \$20 and \$30

would practically be cut in half should the mother stop working, while those of \$40 or more would be reduced to one-half or three-fourths of their present amount. Only about one-sixth of the families have sources of income outside the family or household. In these instances the assistance comes from friends, relatives or the state rather than from private organized charity, according to the mothers' statement. It appears from the registrations made by social agencies, however, that 295 (41 per cent.) of these families at one time or another appealed to such organizations. The nature of their connection with the social agency in question is not known.

CHAPTER VII

THE MOTHER'S JOB IN INDUSTRY

Mothers in mills and factories.

Wage-earning mothers are usually not unskilled workers. They were far more frequently found in the mill or factory, tending a loom, running a power sewing machine, or inspecting and folding manufactured articles, than scrubbing floors. They were not doing the least desirable kind of work: they were not in positions which unmarried women would scorn. They had their own place in the work-a-day world because they were worthy of their hire. These mothers had not been given work because they were "deserving," they were employed because they had wage-earning capacity valuable to industry. Almost two-thirds of them (63 per cent.) were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, seven per cent. were in trade and clerical positions while the remaining 30 per cent. were in domestic and personal service. Throughout this chapter the term industrial employment is limited to work in mills and factories. Those engaged in other occupations are designated trade and clerical workers and women in domestic and personal service, respectively.

This grouping by occupations is significant when compared with the distribution by occupation of all

married women in the city in 1920. Thirty-four per cent. of all the women fifteen years of age and over gainfully employed were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries at that time, with 43 per cent. in domestic and personal service. Trade, professional service and clerical occupations, combined, accounted for 21 per cent. of all married workers, while the others were employed in transportation, an occupational group which employs none of the wage-earning mothers. The working population of the city includes married women of all classes, while only the less fortunate economic groups within certain limitations of age and conjugal experience are represented by the 728 mothers. These differences may account for the small proportion of employment in trade, clerical and professional service among the wage-earning mothers. The wage-earning mother is essentially industrially employed. One-half of the 459 in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 223, are in the textile industry. Seventy-two are in needle trades, either hand or machine sewing, while the remaining 164 are in other factories. (Table XXXIV.)

Of the mothers in textile mills, over half (117) were employed in making yarn or cloth; more than one-fourth (52) were knitting, in hosiery or underwear mills. The other women (52) worked in carpet, lace curtain, or blanket mills. Many of them were burlers, whose work consists of removing imperfections from the completed article. Only one in ten of the mothers in manufacturing and mechanical trades have entered the occupation traditionally regarded as women's work, sewing. Of these, one-

TABLE XXXIV—NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS IN EACH SECTION

Industry or occupation	Total	Ken-sing-ton	South-west	North-west	North-east	South-east	Mana-yunk
Manufacturing and Mechanical							
Total	459	187	100	39	47	41	45
Textile	223	127	24	14	14	2	42
Needle	72	14	33	6	12	7	
All others ..	164	46	43	19	21	32	3
Trade and Clerical							
Total	54	10	24	15	2	2	1
Saleswoman.	26	6	10	7		2	1
Cashier	6	1	4	1			
Telephone operator ..	5	1	3	1			
Clerk	6		4	2			
Stenographer	4	1	1	1	1		
All others ¹ ..	7	1	2	3	1		
Domestic and Personal							
Total	215	41	84	28	32	28	2
Office cleaner	79	13	41	7	3	14	1
Home cleaner	44	10	14	9	8	3	
Restaurant employee .	42	10	18	6	2	6	
All others...	50	8	11	6	19	5	1

¹ This item includes two professional workers, one who plays a church organ and another who teaches music.

fourth were employed at the arsenal on soldiers' uniforms. Others worked at the same place making or mending tents. Dress-making, upholstery and miscellaneous machine and hand operations account

for the others. Machine sewing was more common than hand work.

The 164 women who were in factories other than textile show a wide variety of occupations. Thirty-four of them were packers or inspectors in undesignated industries. Twenty-five were in miscellaneous industries. The 33 women engaged in tobacco industries were cigarmakers in small shops. The metal workers were largely munition workers. The workers in paper were employed as folders in publishing houses, in making paper boxes and in similar processes. Those who were preparing foods were employed in candy factories, in canneries, and occasionally in a meat packing plant or a bakeshop. One of the six women who were working on wood was mending cots at the arsenal. The seven laborers were employed by an oil refining company for heavy work, such as shoveling.

Mothers who are the chief wage-earners in the family must have work that is regular and comparatively well paid, hence women without husbands constitute two-thirds of the workers in mills and factories but only 55 per cent. of all mothers employed. Native women whose fathers were foreign-born, excepting those of Irish stock, showed the most pronounced tendency to enter mills and factories (73 per cent. compared with 63 per cent. of the total). Only 55 per cent. of the women of Irish parentage and 45 per cent. of Irish birth were thus employed.

Mothers who were in mills and factories before marriage tend to return to the same industry and usually to the same occupation after marriage. Two

hundred and ninety-six mothers have reported the nature of their last employment before marriage and their subsequent changes. The women who were in textile industries have shown the greatest tendency to stay in their trade since 78 per cent. of them are in the same occupation as at the time of their marriage. The skill of the women in the needle trades and in all other industries appears to be less specialized. The figures for the group of 296 are:

	<i>Change in Industry</i>		
	<i>None</i>	<i>On Return After Marriage</i>	<i>Since Return After Marriage</i>
Mothers in textile mills	129	15	21
Mothers in needle industries	33	9	11
Mothers in all other manufactur- ing and mechanical industries	49	14	15

The women in mill and factory work were, as a group, better paid than those in trade and clerical employment or in domestic and personal service. Table XXXV shows that a larger proportion of the women in this work were earning \$15 and over a week than of the whole number employed. The 218 women in textile industries were the best paid of all the women in mills and factories. Over half of them were earning \$15 or more a week. Less than half of the women in the needle trades were being paid \$15 or more while only two-fifths of the women in all other manufacturing and mechanical industries were receiving this amount.

The favorable attitude of the employer probably has some influence upon the return of married

TABLE XXXV—WAGES EARNED BY MOTHERS ¹

Industry or occupation	Total	Mothers whose weekly wages are				
		Less than \$5	\$5 to \$10	\$10 to \$15	\$15 to \$20	\$20 and more
Total	712	26	141	291	197	57
Textile	218	1	14	89	91	23
Needle trade	70	1	7	31	25	6
Other manufacturing and mechanical	162		18	80	47	17
Saleswoman	26	2	5	15	3	1
Cashier	6		3	3		
Other trade and clerical	20		1	5	8	6
Office cleaner	79	6	34	28	10	1
Home cleaner	42	12	21	9		
Restaurant employee	40	2	23	12	3	
Other domestic and personal	49	2	15	19	10	3

¹ Sixteen of the 728 women are excluded because of incomplete information.

women and mothers to industry. The observations of the mothers must, unfortunately, be substituted for the opinions of employers themselves on this point since the latter were not interviewed. Only five per cent. of 386 mothers reporting believed that the policy of the mill or factory in which they worked favored unmarried women in preference to married women and especially in preference to mothers. A larger number, 11 per cent., believed that the married woman was preferred to the single woman by their present employers. The conclusion

which most of them (84 per cent.) had reached, however, was that it makes no difference to the employer who does the work as long as it is done.

A mother who worked in a Kensington knitting mill advanced a reason for the employment of single women which is significant of the difference between the responsibilities of the two groups. She believed that the employer must surely prefer single women "because the married ones are so graspy." Another worker in Kensington, a woman who was supporting her family by her work in a yarn mill, said that employers take single women since the married ones so often have to be at home because of their children. It was only the exceptional woman, however, who believed that married women were more irregular or more given to changing work than unmarried women.

The weight of opinion among the mothers in mills and factories appeared to be that the married woman is preferred, if any distinction is made. This preference for married women in mills and factories was usually put on one of two grounds, either that the woman with a home to support is "steadier" or that she should be given favored treatment because of her additional responsibilities. Mrs. King, who works in a Kensington knitting mill, stated that in her plant the married women were "steadier" but not better paid. A foreman in another Kensington textile mill confided to one of these mothers that he would rather get married women because "they are steadier in attendance and not so liable to quit." This attitude was voiced again and again by the wage-earning mothers.

Employers had occasionally impressed the mothers with their philanthropy. One woman said her employer was very kind to her because he realized that her husband was worthless. This kindness, however, did not appear to take the form of a responsible position or high pay. A widow in a yarn mill said that she was very well treated by her firm and that any other woman with children to support would be equally well treated. The majority of women did not appear to believe that the employer was taking advantage of their necessity.

The number of married women employed in these mills and factories indicates that whatever theoretical objections the employer might have had to married women, he did not follow them in practice. Seventy-two per cent. of the 196 women who estimated the proportion of married to unmarried women in the plant were of the opinion that half or more of the workers were married. Their estimates are of doubtful statistical value but they at least suggest the prevalence of the married worker in the industrial plant. The proportion of married to unmarried workers is about the same regardless of the total number of women employed.

There seemed to be a difference of opinion among the mothers as to the ethics of wage-earning by the married woman who does not need the money. One group held the theory that the number of "jobs" is limited and to hold one when it is not necessary is to deny a more needy worker her birthright. A widow in the sewing trades summed up this point of view by saying that "Lots of married women work who should stay home and give their places to

people who need the money." Another woman, who was not employed at the time of the interview, said she gave up her work when the "boys" were coming home because she did not want to be taking work from any one. She was not entirely altruistic in her motive, however, since, as she says, her work "was not putting her ahead." The other group of women saw no reason why a married woman with children should not work even if it were not to avert destitution. A foreign-born married woman expressed this view of the matter, "I guess married women like to have money as well as single ones." She added that she "would die" if she had to stay at home all day as some women do. Another woman believed that many married women work, not because they have to but because they like to have extra money. "Women," she concluded, "get awfully tired of housework and scrubbing all the time." A native-born woman who has worked all her life enjoyed it and thought she managed her home better than her neighbors who sat on their doorsteps.

Other women were less optimistic about industrial employment. Mrs. Cox said that the life of a working woman is very hard, but "it is possible if one trusts in the Lord." Their objections, for the most part, were, however, not made to their work but to the combined burden of wage-earning and house-keeping. Several of them expressed their superiority as a group over the women who are in domestic and personal service. Mrs. Hill, employed as a burler in a blanket factory in Kensington, "would not think of doing cleaning or housework for other

people." Mrs. Cane, who "hated housework," commented on the improved condition of present-day factories. A factory is like a drawing-room now compared with what it used to be when she worked as a girl. "Nobody stands over you now to see if you work, you can talk or sing or fool. It just affects your piece work."

Mothers in trade and clerical positions.

The 54 mothers who were employed in trade and clerical positions constitute less than eight per cent. of the total number of mothers considered. The most common occupation in this group was that of saleswoman including 26 of the mothers. Most of them were at work in department stores. Six were cashiers, usually in moving picture houses, six were employed as clerks or bookkeepers, five were telephone operators and four were stenographers. The unclassified group includes a variety of work such as the woman who peddled on the street in pleasant weather.

The distribution of these trade and clerical workers throughout the city shows the influence of neighborhood, nativity and economic level of population on the particular kind of employment which the mother undertook when she became a wage-earner. Forty-five of these 54 mothers are native with either native fathers or fathers born in north Europe. Naturally enough, they lived in the sections which are characterized by such population. The nativity of the population alone, however, did

not determine the kind of work. Kensington, which ranks first in the proportion of native women, had a low proportion of the mothers (four per cent.), in trade and clerical work. The opportunities for industrial employment had outweighed the tendency that such a population might have toward clerical and commercial occupations. Mothers have entered trade and clerical occupations in greatest number from the Northwest section (18 per cent.), a district with the least industrial and most prosperous surroundings.¹

Previous experience in their present work was not so marked among these women as it was among the mill and factory workers. Nearly half the women who furnished information regarding their former occupations (15 out of 31), were not in their present occupation immediately before marriage. Their skill appears to be less specialized so that they can move from one occupation to another within the same group. Eight of them changed at the time of re-entering industry and six of them had changed since.

One-third of these 54 women said they resumed wage-earning after marriage because their husbands' wages proved insufficient; only eight returned to work because of the death of the husband and eight from preference. Their return to work in comparatively large numbers due to low income is probably a reflection, not of lower wages on the part of their

¹ It was also in this section, which furnished the highest percentage of women in clerical occupations, that the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting information both in the survey and in the intensive study.

husbands than of other men, but rather of their higher standard of life. These women, living in more desirable sections of the city than other working mothers and with a different standard of consumption, would probably feel the insufficiency of the husband's wage more keenly. It is probable that what is considered preference for work in other sections and by other occupational groups is regarded as necessity by these women.

The wages of women in trade and clerical positions according to Table XXXV were not so high (18 out of 52 earning \$15 and more) as those of the mill and factory workers (209 out of 450 earning \$15 and more). The greater possibility of part-time work when the woman does not have to keep pace with a machine probably accounts for the frequency of low wages in this group.

Married women in clerical positions, according to their own statements, are highly regarded by their employers because of their regularity at work. A mother reports that the manager called her into the office recently to compliment her on her punctuality. He said he preferred to employ married women because they did not spend so much time talking about outside things and were more anxious to make sales. The note of the greater interest taken by married women in their work is sounded again and again. The married women, either widows or women whose husbands are still living, are reported by several women to be holding the most responsible positions, such as heads of departments. Married women are said to be employed by one department store in the household furnish-

ings department because of their greater familiarity with such matters.

Women in the trade and clerical positions on the whole appear to think more highly of their work than did the women in mills and factories. Their attitude toward their employment reflected a higher standard of life and a higher standard of skill than was shown by the women in industrial plants. It is the unmarried, not the married, woman who is reported here as the one who underbids. A bookkeeper in one of the principal department stores of the city said that it is easier for single women to get work because they can work for less. Another said that married women are not employed so extensively as the unmarried because they are too independent. The most desirable feature of their occupation, as they saw it, was the opportunity it affords them to meet people and to have larger interests outside of their home. One woman argued that it makes for harmony in the home because it is more congenial to her than housework and, therefore, she is a pleasanter companion. The part-time arrangement appealed to some of the women very much. The sturdy woman who earned her living by peddling on the streets in and about Kensington showed great contempt for women who do not work. They spend their time, she had observed, sitting on the doorstep telling each other how hard it is to get along. She was convinced that they deserve the reward of their laziness.

Mothers in domestic and personal service.

Two hundred and fifteen mothers, 30 per cent. of the total, were engaged in domestic and personal service. Slightly more than one-third of them (79) were office cleaners while the others were about equally divided between home cleaning, restaurant work and miscellaneous occupations. The miscellaneous and unclassified workers were employed as laundresses, elevator operators, chamber maids and in similar occupations. (Table XXXIV.)

Married women (32 per cent.), were more often engaged in work of this kind than the deserted, divorced and widowed women (27 per cent.). It seems to attract married women because it enables them to contribute something to the support of the family without requiring their full time. For women without husbands, on the other hand, such part-time work will not yield sufficient income to support their dependents. Half (108) of the 215 women in this occupational group were foreign-born, while only 40 per cent. of the 728 women were foreign-born. The women who lived in the least industrial sections, on the whole, entered this employment in greatest number.

Domestic and personal service, especially day's work, apparently attracts women who were in other occupations before marriage. It is probably the kind of work for which their experience in the home since marriage has best fitted them. The time of changing their employment is shown below for 153 of the 215 women now in this occupational group:

	<i>Number Not Changing</i>	<i>Number On Return After Marriage</i>	<i>Number Changing Since Return After Marriage</i>
Mothers who are office cleaners..	10	—	1
Mothers who are house cleaners..	11	43	26
Mothers who are restaurant employees	8	5	6
Mothers in all other domestic and personal service	16	8	19

The wages offered by this work surely could not have been the inducement which led them to enter it. More than half of them (55 per cent.), are earning less than \$10 a week with a modal wage between \$5 and \$10. The explanation of the low income lies in the fact that many of the mothers are employed only part-time. (Table XXXV.) Part-time work, however, cannot account for the practically entire absence of women earning more than \$20 a week. Domestic and personal service is the lowest paid work done by the mothers, regardless of the length of the work period.

Whenever a preference is expressed by employers for either single or married women, according to the experience of these mothers in domestic or personal service, it is usually in favor of the married woman. They advanced many reasons why employers prefer them for domestic and personal service. Married women are the "settled" women, according to one mother's description, and are preferred for that reason. They are also said to be more reliable and to work more regularly and steadily. The hours are better adapted to the needs

of the married than the unmarried workers. An office cleaner who works at night says that "single women want their evenings, but the married women can get along without a good time." Married women claim that they are desired as chamber maids because of the moral hazards involved for the young girl. A well known club in the city, according to one of its chamber maids, insists on married women for the upstairs work but uses unmarried girls in the diningrooms.

Married women, particularly widows, are given preference as scrub women in public buildings. At the United States Mint only widows or deserted women of two years standing are taken on. The judge who has charge of the domestic arrangements of a certain public building is said to be very careful about the kind of woman he appoints. They are all "deserving" and the one unmarried woman who is employed is included within the terms of the definition by the loss of an eye. A waitress says that as a rule the prospective worker is not asked whether or not she is married. She has observed, however, that if a woman wears a wedding ring she finds it more difficult to get work. Aside from certain public buildings, hotels, and occasional restaurants, it appears to be a matter of indifference to the employer whether the woman in domestic and personal service is married or unmarried.

The greatest advantage of domestic and personal service, from all reports, appears to be the short hours and flexibility of working schedule. The hours suit the mother since she can to some extent adjust them to the children's school hours. Many of

them drew comparisons between their hours and factory hours to the disadvantage of the latter. Mrs. Hunt, who has known little but hard labor all her life, was doing day's work. She accepted work outside the home as the ordinary course of a woman's life but she maintained that a woman should have the right to choose the kind of job she would do. Her choice had been for cleaning because the factory takes too much of a woman's time when she has a home and children to look after. The food which was supplied by the restaurant, with some to take home, and old clothes given by the woman of the house, were urged as further advantages of this kind of work.

In spite of the prophecy "never can they be prosperous, happy, contented and healthy in industry" ² many of these mothers testified to their well-being. Although there are shades of opinion as to the advantages or disadvantages of wage-earning, there is more or less a consensus of opinion that it is difficult for a mother to be a home maker and a wage-earner at the same time. These 728 mothers were predominantly an industrial group. They were frequently led to their particular occupations by their past industrial experience. The industries which mothers will enter during the next two decades are being determined, in large measure, at the present moment by the vocational choices of young girls. Other factors which enter into the mother's choice of occupation are: opportunities for part-time employment, wages, nature of the indus-

² MARTIN, JOHN, "The Mother in Industry," *The Survey*, 35: pp. 720-721.

tries close at hand, as well as the mother's nativity and racial background. The experience of these mothers, in each occupational group, suggests that there is no prejudice on the part of the employers against married women or mothers.

PART II

THE EFFECTS OF WAGE-EARNING
BY MOTHERS

CHAPTER VIII

THE MOTHER'S WORK DAY IN INDUSTRY

Length of the working day.

The mother's role of wage-earner cannot be dissociated from that of housekeeper. Our interest in the conditions under which she works is due to the reaction upon the housekeeper and mother as well as the employee.¹ The consequences of every advantage or disadvantage which she experiences in industry follow her into her home and affect her family life. Conditions which might in themselves seem comparatively unimportant, such as the distance between home and factory, take on significance when considered in relation to the mother's duties and responsibilities at home.

Most of the mothers are working full time in industry. More than two-thirds of the women included in Table XXXVI work eight hours or longer every day of the week except Saturday, 44 per cent., nine hours or more and 11 per cent., 10 hours or more. The most common weekly schedule is nine and one-fourth hours or nine and three-fourths hours a day with five and one-fourth hours on Saturday, a total of $52\frac{1}{2}$ or 54 hours. The legal limita-

¹ In this study the available data on industrial conditions are limited to hours of work.

tion, except in private homes and on farms, is 54 hours a week. The other women are employed only part-time, either several hours every day of the week (24 per cent.), or several whole days each week (5 per cent.). Part-time employment, almost without exception, is more than half-time. One hun-

TABLE XXXVI—LENGTH OF THE MOTHER'S DAY IN INDUSTRY ¹

General division of occupations	Total	Less than 6 hours	6 to 8 hours	8 to 9 hours	9 hours or more
Full Week					
Total	670	67	104	190	309
Manufacturing and mechanical	443	3	30	129	281
Trade and clerical.....	51	11	24	10	6
Domestic and personal.	176	53	50	51	22
Less Than Full Week					
Total	37	8	9	9	11
Manufacturing and mechanical	12	..	2	3	7
Trade and clerical.....	1	..	1		
Domestic and personal.	24	8	6	6	4

¹ This table excludes 21 women who did not give complete information. Seventy-eight of the 320 women who work more than nine hours a day are working 10 hours or over, 69 in manufacturing and mechanical industries and nine in domestic and personal service.

dred and fifty nine of the 171 women working part-time daily are employed more than four hours and 27 of the remaining 37 work three full days or more weekly.

The proportion of part-time employment in this group of mothers (29 per cent.) is low compared with 3857 working women in Chicago, of whom 47 per cent. were employed less than 48 hours a week.² Furthermore, 67 per cent. of the 370 mothers studied on New York's West Side are reported as working less than eight hours a day, and no statement is made as to the number of days a week. It should be remembered that in the latter group the proportion of mothers engaged in domestic and personal service was high.

The kind of work in which the mother is engaged seems to determine the length of the working day and the feasibility of adjusting her responsibilities in industry to her duties at home through part-time work. Women in manufacturing and mechanical industries have, according to Table XXXVI, the longest hours with the least interruption. Ninety per cent. of them, compared with 30 per cent. of those in trade and clerical positions and 36 per cent. in domestic and personal service, work full time. The mothers in mills and factories cannot be allowed to stay at home while their machines stand idle, and no system of part-time day shifts has been devised as yet for their benefit.

No inquiry was made about overtime work, and the mothers seldom volunteered any information on the point. Since the labor laws of the state do not require that power machines be disconnected during the lunch period, it is possible that piece workers use at least part of their noon hour to increase their

² Illinois Industrial Survey. *Hours and Health of Women Workers*, p. 67.

output. The experience of Mrs. Wolff, a Russian Jewess, is probably out of the ordinary. She earns from \$9 to \$10 a week as stripper in a cigar factory but insists that she could not make more than \$8 without working during her entire lunch period.

TABLE XXXVII—LIMITS OF THE MOTHER'S WORKING DAY IN INDUSTRY¹

General division of occupations	Total	Mothers whose hours of work fall between			
		6:45 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. ²	Noon and midnight ³	5-11:30 A.M. and 4-9:00 P.M.	6:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M.
Total	707	640	39	24	4
Manufacturing and mechanical	455	452	3		..
Trade and clerical.....	52	44	6	2	..
Domestic and personal.	200	144	30	22	4

¹ This table excludes 21 of the 728 women because of incomplete information.

² Sixty-one of these 640 do not begin to work until 9:00 in the morning or later. Thirty-seven of the 640 work only part of the week. All other women work a full week.

³ Twenty-four of the 39 women who work between noon and midnight do not begin until four in the afternoon or later.

For nine out of ten of the wage-earning mothers the day in industry falls between a quarter to seven in the morning and six o'clock in the evening. (Table XXXVII.) With the exception of their free time at noon, the majority of the day-time workers spend this entire period at work. Only 39 women have

their mornings free, including those who do not begin until four o'clock in the afternoon. The work extends until midnight in only a few instances. A split schedule, two or three hours in the early morning and two or three hours again in the late afternoon or evening, is comparatively rare (3 per cent.). Night work is practically non-existent in spite of the inadequate protection offered by the Pennsylvania law and the current belief that mothers prefer evening and night work because it enables them to leave their children asleep at home.³

Those who are employed at irregular hours, almost without exception, are in the less standardized occupations, where they can often bargain directly with their employers as to hours and wages. The working hours of 28 per cent. of the women in domestic and personal service, 15 per cent. in trade and clerical work, and less than one per cent. in manufacturing and mechanical industries, lie outside of the customary daytime schedule. Of the 24 women with split work periods, 20 are office cleaners, two cashiers, two waitresses. Three of the four all night workers are cleaners, the other a waitress.

³ *The Woman's Act of 1913* (amended in 1915), Section 4, prohibiting night work, between ten o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning, applies to women in manufacturing establishments, except managers, superintendents and those doing clerical or stenographic work. See also *Illinois Industrial Survey*, p. 67. This investigation of 3857 working women in Chicago shows that eight and three-tenths per cent. of the total number sometimes or always worked at night, compared with 12.6 per cent. of the 396 married women with children and six and eight-tenths per cent. of 220 widows with children. This difference between married women and widows may possibly be explained by the fact that married women can leave children at home with the husband at night.

The hours actually spent in the shop or factory do not measure the full demands of industry upon the time of the mother.⁴ The working day of 13

TABLE XXXVIII.—TIME SPENT IN WALKING OR RIDING TO WORK BY MOTHERS IN EACH GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS ¹

General division of occupations	Total	Mothers who travel to work in					
		Less than 15 minutes		15 to 30 minutes		30 minutes or more	
		Walk- ing	Rid- ing	Walk- ing	Rid- ing	Walk- ing	Rid- ing
Total	718	244	36	152	193	13	80
Manufacturing and mechanical ..	456	187	20	108	88	13	40
Trade and clerical ...	54	8	1	5	23		17
Domestic and personal ..	208	49	15	39	82		23

¹ This table excludes 10 women who did not give complete information.

per cent. of the wage-earning mothers is lengthened an hour or more by the time required to go back

⁴ Table XXXVIII. See also EAVES, LUCILE. *The Food of Working Women in Boston*, p. 158. "The weekly hours of work indicated time actually spent in the factory, store or office, as the case might be, but gave no idea of the time that must be devoted to work, which would include that spent in the coming to and returning from and the lunch period. Using the entire working time as a basis, almost half (46 per cent.) of the women interviewed (126) had to devote from ten to twelve hours each day to work, one-fourth (26 per cent.) from nine to ten, one-sixth (15.1 per cent.) from eleven to twelve, and most of the others less than nine hours."

and forth, while 58 per cent. spend more than half an hour but less than an hour daily in this way. The remaining 39 per cent. make the double trip in less than half an hour. The women who have the longest hours, in manufacturing and mechanical industries, spend the least time in transit. Nearly half of them make the trip in less than fifteen minutes.

Almost three-fifths (57 per cent.) of the wage-earning mothers walk to work and back. (Table XXXIX.) They are pressed for both time and money and it is a difficult matter to decide which

TABLE XXXIX—CONDITIONS WHICH KEEP MOTHERS FROM GOING HOME AT NOON¹

Time and method of travel	Total	Mothers reporting lunch period of			
		Less than one hour		One hour or more	
		Go home	Do not go home	Go home	Do not go home
Total	699	133	371	100	95
Walking less than 15 minutes	236	116	68	43	9
Walking 15 minutes or more	160	16	106	21	17
Riding less than 15 minutes	36		24	6	6
Riding 15 minutes or more	267	1	173	30	63

¹ This table excludes 29 of the 728 mothers. Twenty-one women who walk and eight women who ride to work did not give complete information.

to sacrifice. It appears, on the crude assumption that it takes three times as long to walk at a moderate pace as to travel by street car in the crowded parts of the city, that they ride only when it would require at least half an hour to walk. They apparently would rather spend time than carfare, but more than half an hour's walk does not justify the economy. Less than two per cent. walk more than half an hour and, on the other hand, only five per cent. ride less than fifteen minutes. Mothers who hold trade and clerical positions in the city, as well as some who clean and scrub, ride comparatively long distances so that the advantages of shorter hours in these occupations are practically nullified. Furthermore, when the worker has a split period she must travel the distance four times instead of twice.

Free time during the working day.

The working mother has but little freedom in the middle of the day. Scarcely more than one in four (28 per cent.) have a lunch period of an hour or more. Almost twice as many (55 per cent. in all) have the three-fourths of an hour lunch time required by law for women who work eight hours or more. The lunch period is less than three-fourths of an hour for 17 per cent. of the women, a reduction which is in conformity with the law if they are employed less than eight hours. The law also states that "employees shall not be required to remain in the workroom during the time allowed for meals" but, except in certain dangerous industries, does not require that a place be provided in which

to spend the lunch period. These mothers are not so well off in the matter of lunch period as working women in Chicago where 39 per cent. of 3857 wage-earning women were free for an hour or more at noon. The working mothers in Chicago, however, fared worse in this respect than their fellow workers. Only 28 per cent. of the married women with children had a lunch period of an hour or more as compared with 35 per cent. of the widows with children and 42 per cent. of the women who had no children.

A third of the wage-earning mothers go home for lunch. This proportion is high compared with the findings of the investigation previously cited of the food habits of working women in Boston, where only 4 per cent. of 702 workers interviewed went home for lunch or ate no lunch. The value of this contrast, however, is vitiated by the fact that many of the Boston women were not living at home and would not have been likely to return to their rooming houses for lunch. The difference between these two groups, however, is suggestive of the additional responsibilities resting upon the worker who is also managing a home.

The 466 wage-earning mothers who do not go home for lunch make about the same arrangements as unmarried women under similar circumstances.⁵ Sixty-one per cent. eat a cold lunch which they bring from home, compared with the 62 per cent. of the girls included in the Boston study. Women in manufacturing and mechanical industries here and in Boston carried their lunches more frequently

⁵ ODENCRANTZ, LOUISE, *Italian Women in Industry*, pp. 75, 287.

than other workers, probably because of poorer lunch facilities and also because of the inconvenience of changing into street clothes if they leave the plant at noon. It is probable that many of the piece workers who eat at their machines begin to work as soon as they have eaten, if the power is not shut off. The women in trade and clerical positions frequently have access to a lunch room in the plant or shop provided by the company, while the women who work in private homes or in restaurants are often furnished their meals as a part of their remuneration. The lack of opportunity for relaxation during the noon hour, because of the short time allowed and the necessity for home duties, is not compensated for by rest periods at other times during the day.

Only one in six (16 per cent.) have a rest period during the day in addition to the noon hour. They suffer in comparison with the women studied by the Illinois Industrial Survey in Chicago where nearly a fourth of 3857 workers had one or more rest periods during the day. Rest periods do not always fall most frequently to the lot of the women who do the most exhausting tasks. A third of the 54 women in trade and clerical positions have at least one rest period other than the lunch period, compared with a tenth of the women in domestic and personal service, and a sixth of those in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

When rest periods do occur, they do not meet the standard set during the war by the Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor. A rest period of 10 minutes should be

allowed in the middle of each working period without thereby increasing the length of the working day.⁶ A rest period, however, does not offer much relaxation when, as with more than half of the mothers, it must be spent in the workroom or toilet room .

Industrial fatigue.

Factors entering into industrial fatigue are sometimes divided into two groups, the intrinsic and the extrinsic. Under intrinsic causes are included those which pertain to the individual organism: nutrition, blood and tissue oxygenation, circulation and elimination, reserve capacity, especially as affected by disease, emotional state, degree of experience and skill in industry, as well as by the frequency of relaxation and rest. Dr. Hayhurst states that "these intrinsic factors are the chief ones in the cause of fatigue."⁷ If these causes are most important it is apparent at once that the working mother is peculiarly subject to fatigue even under the least arduous and most ideal conditions of industry because of the worry and strain involved in leaving her family during the day and in doing the house work at night. The working mother, moreover, does not escape the so-called extrinsic causes of fatigue, those definitely connected with industrial employment. The chief ones of these are: laborious work, long hours, night work, lack of periodical day of rest—the

⁶ United States Department of Labor. "Women in Industry Service." *Standards Governing the Employment of Women in Industry*. (December 12, 1918.)

⁷ *The Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, II, pp. 256-258. "Points in the Detection of Industrial Fatigue and Measures for its Possible Complete Elimination."

so-called 'one day of rest in seven'—piece work, spurt work, monotony, disharmonious rhythm, strains (such as constant standing, faulty postures and uncomfortable chairs), faulty illumination, faulty ventilation and many other forms of distraction such as jarring or jiggling processes and noise." (Hayhurst, 257.) Only the more obvious of these points can be discussed in connection with wage-earning mothers: the kind of work and the strain involved, the hours of work and amount of rest and the cumulative quality of fatigue.

A statement of the kind of work, alone, suggests the hazards to which the women are exposed. Miss Goldmark cites speed, complexity, monotony and noise as factors in the new strain in industry, and mentions the textile and sewing industries among those in which this kind of strain is most serious.⁸ Since 63 per cent. of the wage-earning mothers (459), including 40 per cent. (295) in textile and needle trades, are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical occupations, it is apparent that, as a group, they are subject to this extrinsic cause of fatigue. The task of the women who scrub and clean is physically exhausting but does not involve the same expenditure of nervous energy.

Forty-three per cent. of all the mothers stand constantly at work, while an additional 28 per cent. stand a part of the time. (Table XL.) More than half of the women in trade and clerical positions were required to stand at their work while the women in manufacturing and mechanical positions sit almost as frequently as they stand. Women in

⁸ GOLDMARK, JOSEPHINE, *Fatigue and Efficiency*, Vol. I, p. 43.

domestic and personal service practically never sit at their work, waitresses stand and the cleaning women work on their knees. The report of the British War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, after pointing out that standing is not necessarily injurious, states that "Even healthy women, however, from time to time, find standing particularly tiring, especially when the work entails standing in one place, and the ill effects are increased by such forms of physical disability as malnutrition, anemia, or any local internal inflammation. Women who have borne children are likely to suffer more from continual standing than unmarried girls and are more apt to develop varicose veins, internal displacements or other disabling conditions in consequence. . . ." ⁹

TABLE XL—WORKING POSTURE OF MOTHERS IN EACH GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS ¹

General division of occupations	Total	Mothers who			
		Stand	Sit	Stand and sit	Stand, kneel or bend
Total	714	308	206	70	130
Manufacturing and mechanical	454	200	183	63	8
Trade and clerical.....	54	30	21	3	
Domestic and personal.	206	78	2	4	122

¹ This table excludes 14 of the 728 women because of incomplete information. Forty-four of the 308 women who stand walk about. Eight of the 130 women who stand, kneel or bend are able occasionally to sit at their work.

⁹ Great Britain. War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry. *Report*. "Women in Industry," p. 222.

If the eight-hour day is accepted as standard, at least 44 per cent. of the mothers, those who toil nine hours or more for five and a half days or six days of the week, are overworked and therefore subject to fatigue. The lunch period is the only interruption in the work time of five-sixths of the women, and is no longer, in the great majority of cases, than the scant three-fourths of an hour provided by the labor law. Even during this brief period one-third of the mothers go home to look after the needs of their children. The walk home through the open air, could it be taken at leisure and with a mind free from care, might be beneficial to the mother who works behind a machine all day, but when it involves hurry and strain it would seem to be only a factor contributing to fatigue. Although it is probably impossible to set a standard for the amount of rest required that will apply equally to all industrial employment it is open to question whether three-quarters of an hour at noon is enough to enable the worker to rest for the afternoon work or to leave the factory in the evening feeling comparatively fresh. An Italian student of fatigue, Pieraccini, raises the question whether the eight-hour day for men should not be interrupted by an extended rest at noon.¹⁰ He believes that a lunch period of only half an hour with a cold lunch, results in serious disturbances of digestion, nutrition and of the entire nervous system. He suggests two hours to insure a hot lunch at home and time for rest.

¹⁰ Reviewed in *The Journal of Industrial Hygiene and Abstract of the Literature*, Vol. II, p. 204.

Half of the wage-earning mothers (259 of the 516 reporting) have been at their present job a year while one-fifth (104) have been at it five years or more.¹¹ Three hundred and forty-nine (48 per cent.), however, report that they lost time from work during the past year. The reasons for which they stayed out indicate that they lost time only when an emergency arose in their homes and their absence from industry does not in any sense imply freedom from work, worry and responsibility:

	<i>Less Than 5 Weeks</i>	<i>5 Weeks or More</i>
Mothers absent because of slack work	11	18
Mothers absent because of slack work and illness of self	6	26
Mothers absent because of slack work, care of family	1	8
Mothers absent because of slack work, ill- ness of self, care of family	6	12
Mothers absent because of illness of self..	71	43
Mothers absent because of childbirth	1	12
Mothers absent because of illness of self and care of family	16	33
Mothers absent because of illness of self and disinclination to work	3	9
Mothers absent because of care of family.	42	20
Mothers absent because of disinclination to work	7	4

¹¹ This record although good, from the point of view of the employer, is not unusual. *Illinois Industrial Survey*, 67. Fifty-three per cent. of the 3867 women investigated in Chicago had been at their present work a year or more, compared with 44 per cent. of the 616 mothers included in the group. Council of National Defense: New Orleans Division and Louisiana State Division. Women in Industry Committee. *Conditions of Women's Labor in Louisiana*, 120. This investigation shows an estimated turnover of 100 per cent. a year for 10,620 women employees and on this basis concludes that "statements branding women's labor as irresponsible or temporary do not

Dr. Hayhurst (p. 258) points out the progressive bad effects of continued industrial fatigue and the methods of detecting it. "A day's fatigue results in simple 'tired looks,' health complaints, stayed enthusiasm and inaccuracies of execution. A week's fatigue results in obvious listlessness, minor indisposition,—leaves of absence, loafing on the job, decreased morale, and incorrect attitudes, both physical and mental. A month's or a year's fatigue results in evident bodily afflictions (temporary or chronic, associated with deformity or impairment, both physical and mental), quite complete loss of morale and noticeable imperfection in work performed both as to quantity and quality. Obviously, the point of attack is the day's fatigue. Does the work group 'quit fresh' as it is believed it should, or with fatigue evidences which even the next meal will not efface?"

It is evident from their reports that some mothers work too long hours with inadequate rest, and under too great physical and nervous strain to 'quit fresh' at night. But although the mother cannot achieve this ideal, it is still possible to relieve the effect of fatigue by proper rest. "During rest, fatigue disappears. Rest is thus a physiological necessity. With the intensity of modern industry, the individual worker can keep up efficient labor only on the condition that the fatigue engendered on one day is

seem justified by the facts, that women as a whole are fairly steady, long term workers."

For a discussion of the difference in favor of women's length of service see United States Department of Labor: Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Monthly Labor Review*, ix, p. 122. (November, 1919) "Labor Turnover."

completely repaired before the next day. If fatigue is not balanced by adequate rest, a deficit remains which inevitably accumulates, and after a shorter or longer period results in physical breakdown." ¹² If these mothers have proper rest after work the strain of their industrial employment will probably not result in loss of health and vigor.

¹² GOLDMARK, Vol. ii, p. 93.

CHAPTER IX

WHO DOES THE HOUSEWORK?

Adjustment between the mother's job at home and in industry.

The factory has supplanted the household as the unit of production today and in consequence the mother's contribution through the home has shrunk greatly. Her duties there have, however, by no means ceased. The home continues to function as a service center for the family furnishing, as a minimum, meals and shelter. It is still the meeting place for the members of the family who may spend a large part of their time elsewhere: at school, play or work. The modern mother in the wage-earning population finds that, although her function as a producer of goods has largely been transferred to the factory, a part of her job remains in the home. She is confronted by the difficulty of carrying on two different sets of responsibilities simultaneously in two places.

Five expedients for combining these two functions have been utilized by these wage-earning mothers: First, they limit their industrial duties by working only part time. Second, they practically eliminate their housekeeping responsibilities by boarding with

another family. Third, they secure assistance from outside the household. Fourth, they transfer their work as housekeepers to relatives living with them.

	<i>Per Cent.</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Widowed, Deserted and Divorced</i>
Mothers who do not work full time and do not keep house.	3.5	3.4	3.5
Mothers who do not work full time but keep house.....	25.5	34.8	17.9
Mothers who work full time, do not keep house	14.3	5.9	20.9
Mothers who work full time, keep house with outside assistance only	14.9	12.9	16.7
Mothers who work full time, keep house with assistance from outside and members of family	15.4	18.5	12.9
Mothers who work full time, keep house with assistance from outside and relatives in household	3.4	1.9	4.6
Mothers who work full time, keep house with assistance from relatives in household.	6.3	5.7	6.9
Mothers who work full time, keep house with assistance from family only	12.6	12.9	12.3
Mothers who work full time, keep house with no assistance	4.1	4.0	4.3

Fifth, they call upon members of the family to co-operate with them in doing the housework. Those who do not use one of these five expedients carry the double burden alone.

The tabulation presented above shows that about

one-third (29 per cent.) of mothers in industry are employed only part time and that 14 per cent. more are employed full time but do not keep house. Almost half (43 per cent.) are thus working less than full time both outside and inside the home. Another third (33.7 per cent.) are employed full time but have help with their housework from outside the household and may also have assistance from within. Only 19 per cent. are employed full time with no domestic help except that of members of the family or relatives. Less than five per cent. carry the combined burden of housekeeping and full-time industrial employment without assistance from one of these five sources.

The mother who reduces her work period to less than a full-time standard of eight hours a day for five and a half days (29 per cent.) has made her adjustment at the expense of industry. When the working day is shortened, however, wages are correspondingly curtailed. Married women report almost twice as much part-time employment as women without husbands, since they can afford to work for this low pay while widows, deserted and divorced women usually need the income from full-time work. Part-time work, as shown in Chapter VIII, is most commonly found in domestic and personal service and usually occupies the mother more than half time. The free time afforded by this arrangement, however, gives her an opportunity to manage the home fairly successfully. These part-time workers include a small number (3.5 per cent.) who do not maintain homes of their own.

Boarding with another family instead of keeping

house (14.3 per cent. full-time and 3.5 per cent. part-time workers) relieves the mother of household responsibilities. The boarding mother, as indicated in Chapter V, usually lives with a relative. She frequently gives up her own home at the death, desertion or absence of her husband. Boarding is, therefore, far more frequent among widows, deserted and divorced mothers (24 per cent.) than among married women (9 per cent.). The circumstance which made it advisable for these families to live with relatives also forced the mother into industry. The relatively high proportion of boarding among wage-earning mothers should not, therefore, be regarded solely as a result of adjusting family life to gainful employment.

Part-time employment and boarding simplify the problem of nearly half (43 per cent.) of these wage-earning mothers. From now on this chapter will deal primarily with the remaining 57 per cent. who work a full week in industry and manage homes of their own with such assistance as they can procure. Almost half of the mothers at work are thus excluded from consideration in this section of the chapter and the next, while only those who do not keep house are excluded from the last two sections.

In order to find out who actually did the housework in these homes the investigator asked the mother what assistance she received in each of the following operations: cooking, cleaning, washing, sewing, marketing and child care. The mother, who might at first say that she did all of the housework, was in this way led to analyze the situation and to give recognition to the assistance received from

others. The mother undoubtedly feels solely responsible for home management even though some one else may do a large part of the work. When there are others in the household capable of helping her they form a potential source of assistance and are probably pressed into service when occasion demands.

The burden imposed by housework depends largely upon how well it is done. These different household operations are not standardized and there may be wide variations from home to home in the time and effort spent in each. The amount of labor involved in doing the weekly washing, for example, depends upon the standard of cleanliness prevailing in the home, as well as the quantity and quality of linen and garments used. It must, therefore, be borne in mind that the standard of living discussed here is that of an industrial population. Housekeeping in the homes of these wage-earning mothers should be interpreted in light of their surroundings. No adequate study of the demands of housework and home management in wage-earning families has ever been made, nor of the assistance rendered by members of the family or by relatives residing in households where the mother is not employed.

More than half of the mothers who work all day and manage a home have help from some source outside the household. More than half of the 241 who reported such help, in turn, combine with it assistance from members of the family or relatives living in the household. The assistance which the mother receives from persons outside of the household is of four kinds: general housework, laundry, child care

by relatives or neighbors, and nursery care. More than one kind of outside help is reported by many mothers, often combined with the assistance from within the household. (Table XLI.)

TABLE XLI—ASSISTANCE WITH HOUSEWORK FROM OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

Nature of assistance	Total	Mothers who have assistance from		
		Outside only	Outside and Relatives	Outside and family ¹
Total	241	107	24	110
Housework and child care ² ..	62	13	9	40
Housework and laundry	27	1	5	21
Housework, child care and laundry	14	—	—	14
Housework only	3	—	1	2
Laundry and child care	11	11	—	—
Housework, laundry, nursery	3	—	—	3
Housework, child care, nursery	6	—	1	5
Laundry and nursery	4	4	—	—
Housework and nursery	35	2	8	25
Nursery only	43	43	—	—
Nursery and child care	4	4	—	—
Child care only	29	29	—	—

¹ Of the 59 married women who report that members of the family help, 32 have assistance from the husband.

² Child care refers to services by neighbors or relatives who are not in the household. Child care is included as a part of the housework when the relative lives with the family.

In 241 homes reporting about two-thirds of the outside assistance is in housework, including laundry, and one-third in child care, although the assistance in housekeeping often includes the oversight of chil-

dren at home, if there are any. In the 107 homes where outside help only is employed one-third is for general work and two-thirds for child care. Relatives and members of the family in the household always assist, if at all, with the housework. Relatives and neighbors come in for a time each day to put the house in order and prepare the meals, especially the children's lunch at noon. They usually live near and are, therefore, able to combine these duties with their own housework. They sometimes, but not often, occupy the position of servants. In some instances a lodger is paid to do the housework and mind the children during the mother's absence. (Chapter V.) These mothers do not make extensive use of laundries, since only one in six report this type of outside help. The majority of these mothers probably have enough service to reduce materially their responsibilities at home.

Child care during the day, with no other help, is reported by less than one third of these 241 mothers who have outside service. Supervision of the children during the day does not lessen the mother's work except that it may save her a trip home at noon. Such relief does, however, make gainful employment possible and keeps her from worrying during the day. A preference for care by relatives and neighbors rather than by day nurseries is suggested by the provision made by these mothers. (Chapter X.) The nursery is apparently used most extensively when the mother has no other resources for child care.

It is evident from the experience of all wage-earning mothers who keep house, both part-time and full-

time workers, that they would have more paid service if they could afford it. (Table XLII.) The

TABLE XLII—WAGES OF MOTHERS WHO HAVE PAID SERVICE IN THE HOME¹

Mother's wage	Total	Mothers who have			
		No service	Service		
			Paid	Un-paid	Not specified if paid ²
Total	589	292	140	52	105
Less than \$5.....	25	20	3	1	1
\$5 to \$10.....	122	76	19	7	20
\$10 to \$15.....	251	115	55	30	51
\$15 to \$20.....	142	61	43	11	27
\$20 to \$25.....	40	17	15	3	5
\$25 and more.....	9	3	5		1

¹ This table excludes 11 of the 600 women keeping house who did not report the amount paid for service.

² Eighty-two of the women who did not specify the amount paid for service receive assistance from a nursery in the form of child care.

proportion having such assistance increases steadily as the wages grow larger.¹ Only 5 out of 25 women earning less than \$5 a week have paid assist-

¹ *Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia*, p. 38. This study sets \$42.80 as the standard expenditure for cleaning supplies and services for a year. See also Bureau of Applied Economics, "Standards of Living. A Compilation of Budgetary Studies." *Bulletin Number 7*, p. 43. The budget drawn up by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for the family of government employees in Washington, 1919, allows \$104 a year for laundry service and \$32.92 for cleaning supplies and services.

ance, compared with 6 out of 9 who earn \$25 or more.

Relatives, husbands and children constitute the mother's helpers within the household. The extent and character of their services are more difficult to determine than those from outside sources because their assistance is unpaid and not specialized. Even when they ordinarily do not help with housework, they can be called upon in an emergency.

Relatives living with the family take part in housework in 10 per cent. of the 715 homes reporting. They form an important source of help in these homes, as indicated in Table XLI, and in the tabulation below. In these 45 families they constitute the mother's principal source of aid. In this list child care at home is included as a part of housework:

	<i>Number of Households</i>
Relatives do all the housework alone	13
Relatives do all the housework except one or more specified operations ^a	25
Relatives do all the housework with some help from the mother	5
Relatives take care of the children only	2

When children and husband are the only source of help, as is the case in 90 households, the assistance given the mother is chiefly cooking, cleaning

^a The mothers' share of housework is limited to a part or all the sewing in seven households; part or all the marketing, 3; part cooking or sewing, 2; washing and marketing,* 2; in five cases she does part or all the cleaning and one other task; she does a part or all the cooking and one other operation in four households and in one of the two remaining families she sews and washes while in the other she does everything but cook.

and marketing. The supervision of young children, if there are any, is included as housework. For example, a child over ten years of age may be made responsible for the oversight of younger brothers and sisters after school in addition to doing a certain amount of cleaning. In such a case the work is classified as cleaning only. The large amount of cooking is accounted for by the children's preparation of their own lunch at noon. Since there are no comparable data available concerning homes in which the mother does not work it is impossible to state whether the following list of household duties represents an unusual burden on other members of the family:

	<i>Number of Households</i>
Members of family do all the housework.....	7
Members of family cook only	21
Members of family cook and clean	14
Members of family cook and market	8
Members of family cook, clean and market	8
Members of family cook, clean, wash, market	6
Members of family cook, clean, wash	3
Members of family cook, clean, wash, sew	2
Members of family cook, clean and sew	1
Members of family cook, wash and market	1
Members of family cook and wash	1
Members of family clean only	4
Members of family clean and market	4
Members of family clean and wash	2
Members of family clean, wash and market	2
Members of family market and sew	1
Members of family market only	4
Members of family take care of children only.....	1

Before the mother entered industry she did practically all of the cooking herself. Since she has become a wage-earner, however, increased use has been

made of the assistance of adults from within the household, and of paid helpers but the children appear to have borne the brunt of the change. It must be remembered, in this connection, that the mothers have in some instances been at work a long time and the children, meantime, have grown older. Households containing children of the same age groups where the mother is not at work would furnish a better basis for comparing the degree of helpfulness of these younger members of the family.

Less than one in twenty of the entire group of wage-earning mothers is carrying a double job without assistance of some sort. Since 23 of the 30 mothers who say they have no help of any kind are foreign-born, it is possible that the explanation lies in their misunderstanding the questions put to them. The investigators found that foreign-born mothers could discuss their factory work in English quite fluently but lacked a vocabulary relating to their home life. Of the seven native mothers who report no help, two had no children at home, four had one child and one had two children.

The mother's daily schedule.

Most of the visits to the wage-earning mother were made in the late afternoon or evening when it was practically certain that she would be at home. Late afternoon calls found her just back from work, preparing supper; evening visits found her cooking, washing dishes, ironing, putting the children to bed. Saturday afternoon she was scrubbing the white marble steps, washing clothes, or market-

ing. It was only on Sunday, for a time in the afternoon, that there was any chance that she might be away from home.

The women who work part-time do not have the same difficulties in housekeeping as those who are employed full time, since they may devote a part of each day or several full days in succession to their household tasks. The full-time workers, on the other hand, must plan to do their housework in the time left after industry has taken the best hours of the day. The daily schedule of the full-time workers, therefore, shows most clearly the dovetailing of home duties and industry.

The mother's day begins with the preparation of an early breakfast. Table XLIII shows that over 70 per cent. of all women who keep house and work a full day prepare breakfast alone. Before the mother leaves the house she must also see that there is something left for the children's lunch, if she cannot come home, and that their clothes are presentable for school. A mother who is no longer employed reports that "Sometimes I would wash and dress the children for school at night before they went to bed because I would be up and gone early in the morning." The mother may have the added responsibility of getting the baby ready to take to the nursery or the home of a relative and sometimes she is obliged to do a little marketing before going to work. Her day in industry frequently begins at a quarter to seven or seven and it takes her at least ten or fifteen minutes to reach her place of employment.

Children appear to share the responsibility of serving lunch equally with their mothers in the homes

TABLE XLIII—COOKING DONE BY MOTHERS ¹

Meal	Per cent. of households in which meals are prepared by			
	Mother alone	Mother with assistance	Other members of household	Persons outside the household ²
Mothers working full time				
Breakfast	71.7	8.5	16.7	3.1
Lunch	39.2	13.5	38.3	9.0
Supper	59.0	15.5	22.1	3.4
Mothers working part time				
Breakfast	77.7	10.2	10.9	1.2
Lunch	56.2	12.4	23.4	8.0
Supper	66.7	16.4	13.9	3.0

¹ This table includes all women who keep house. The number giving information about cooking is not the same for each meal.

² Persons outside the household include relatives and paid helpers.

of full-time workers. The food is usually prepared in advance by the mother so that there is comparatively little to be done at the time. The mother's noon period is too short for her to do more than hurry home and then back to work. If there is any marketing to be done at noon she stops at the corner store on her way home or sends one of the children.

The interval between the mother's return and the supper hour also is too short to permit of any extensive housework. She frequently has to stop again

at the grocery store on her way home and sometimes she starts to clean, or picks up her sewing or mending while supper is cooking. The service of the per-

TABLE XLIV—HOUSEWORK DONE BY MOTHERS ¹

Nature of housework	Per cent. of households in which the work is done by			
	Mother alone	Mother with assistance	Other members of household	Persons outside the household ²
Mothers working full time				
Cleaning	57.5	27.8	12.0	2.7
Laundry	54.6	22.3	9.9	13.2
Marketing	60.0	18.5	19.0	2.5
Mending	76.5	15.4	8.1	..
Mothers working part time				
Cleaning	66.2	24.2	6.4	3.2
Laundry	68.8	20.0	1.8	9.4
Marketing	75.7	11.5	9.6	..
Mending	80.4	15.0	4.6	..

¹ This table includes all mothers who keep house. The number giving information is not the same for each kind of housework.

² Persons outside the household include relatives and paid helpers.

son who came in to help at noon in some of the homes is dispensed with for the evening meal. Although the children help with supper more frequently than with breakfast, it is probable that in most families the cooking is not begun until the

mother reaches home at six o'clock or later. Up to supper time, therefore, the mother has done only the things that had to be done at the moment.

Half of the women who do their laundry alone do it in the evening, while about the same proportion of the smaller number who have help at home must also do it after hours. The mothers did not specify how many hours they devoted to washing and ironing but judging from the equipment at hand it must have taken at least two or three evenings a week. Although most of these homes have running water in the kitchen, there are no stationary tubs, no washing machines, no mangles, no electric irons. The wage-earning mother does not have the means to purchase these household appliances and must do the washing under conditions which most increase her two great disabilities, exhaustion and lack of time.

The cleaning reported by the mothers is that which must be done daily and weekly: scrubbing, sweeping, dusting, putting things in order. No information was obtained about those frenzied seizures to which the old-fashioned "good" housekeeper was subject, the spring and fall cleaning; and indeed, there is evidence in some homes that these rites have not been observed for many a year. Almost two-thirds of the women who have no help are forced to do their washing and ironing at night.

Marketing, which means going to the corner grocery store and buying whatever is needed for the next meal, or with greater foresight and greater funds, for the next day, is evening work in many of these homes. A third of the women who do all

the marketing themselves report that this is done in the evening.

From information obtained on the schedules it is impossible to determine the amount of sewing and mending done in these homes. Since the mother works full time in industry and does the greater part of the housework, ready-to-wear garments have largely supplanted the home-made variety. No sewing is done by persons outside the household. Such mending as is done usually falls to the lot of the mother; 77 per cent. report that they do it all and an additional 15 per cent. say they do some of it. In over half of the families it is done in the evening.

On Saturday afternoon and Sunday these mothers who work full time clean house, scrub the steps, wash and iron, bathe the children and do the extra cooking. Practically without exception, they maintain that they give their families home cooking; some of them even bake bread. No effort was made to standardize the term "home cooking." Occasionally a mother states that she uses more easily prepared foods now than before she began to work, but such a statement is an exception.³ If there has

³ The following note made by the investigator is illuminating in this connection: "No canned food. Wife plans her meals so that she can prepare in the morning what she serves at night. Buys left-overs from Wanamaker's tea room where she is a waitress,—such as a quart can of vegetable soup or cold meats. Her husband demands good food and the wife knows she must supply it or quit working. Husband insists on having everything just so. Wife works every minute while at home in order to satisfy his demands. Things go much more smoothly when she has her own money to buy shoes and extras for herself and the children."

been a change in diet most of them are not conscious of the fact. After these week-end tasks are done the mothers may manage to go to church, take a nap, or visit a neighbor. Their response to the query about recreation, repeated again and again, was that they "had no time, that they never went out."

The evidence presented in Tables XLIII and XLIV suggests that each household duty is discharged by the mother alone in a large majority of cases. This impression is due to the fact that these tables do not show the complete housekeeping responsibilities of any particular woman. The mother who works full time and does all the cleaning, for example, may not do any cooking or washing. There is evidently no unnecessary assistance in these homes, however, since the more time the mother has to devote to housework, the less service she reports. A larger proportion of part-time workers appear to do each household task with no help than of those employed full time.

The facts presented above show how the mother who is in industry all day contrives to maintain her home and care for her family. She apparently seeks and obtains assistance in so far as money or ingenuity permit. How much this assistance relieves her of the actual work of the house, how much of the planning and oversight she surrenders, how much daily service rated in hours she receives, the schedules taken in this study do not record. It is, therefore, impossible to indicate the number of hours' work she does in the home in addition to the eight or more hours spent in the factory or shop

and to measure the hardship which the double job imposes upon her.

Housekeeping facilities.

The majority of wage-earning mothers who are maintaining homes (78 per cent.) live in one family

TABLE XLV—TYPE OF HOUSE OCCUPIED BY FAMILIES OF WAGE-EARNING MOTHERS ¹

Number of rooms	Total	Number of families living in		
		One-family house	Two-family house	Three- or more family house
Total	583	457	47	79
1 room	23	2	3	18
2 rooms	60	10	9	41
3 rooms	78	42	23	13
4 rooms	135	124	6	5
5 rooms	80	77	1	2
6 rooms	146	142	4	..
7 rooms or more...	61	60	1	..

¹ Type of house was not reported for 17 of the 600 families in separate homes.

houses. (Table XLV.) The six-room house and the four-room house are most common. These houses, so characteristic of Philadelphia, are built in rows, wall to wall. They are all alike, two stories high, with red brick walls and white marble steps. The entrance is on the left side of one house and on the right side of the one adjoining it, so that steps for the two houses are continuous. Two

windows open on the street on the first floor, and two on the second. The interiors of these houses are as unvarying as their exteriors. The four-room house, usually 15 feet wide and 25 feet long, contains a vestibule, living room and kitchen on the first floor, two bedrooms with or without a bath on the second floor. There is usually a closet opening off one of the bedrooms. The six-room house is built on exactly the same plan—15 by 31 feet, with an additional room on each floor. This additional room, a dining room on the first floor, contains one window facing the rear. This arrangement is achieved by reducing the width of the kitchen.⁴

Wage-earning mothers live in tenement houses in only one section of the city, the Southeast. These tenements are, for the most part, remodeled six-room, one-family houses.

The great majority of the houses (86 per cent. of the 518 reporting) have an indoor water supply, although half of them have water in the kitchen only, and only a third have water in kitchen and bathroom. The use of gas for lighting is the rule. No statement was obtained from the mother as to whether it was used for cooking also but in most instances it probably is, at least in summer.⁵ Two-thirds of the houses are reported to have outside toilets, the remaining one-third have toilets in the bathrooms.

These mothers' houses, on the whole, do not

⁴ See floor plans in *National Housing Association Publication No. 7*. "One Million People in Small Houses." See Table 95.

⁵ See *National Housing Association Publication Number 7*.

come up to the usual standard discovered by the Bureau of Municipal Research investigation into the workingman's standard of living in Philadelphia (pp. 42-49). That study of 260 presumably typical households revealed 86 per cent. with indoor toilets, 90 per cent. with gas for both cooking and light, 93 per cent. with water in the kitchen and 74 per cent. with water in the bathroom. The report of the Bureau of Municipal Research adds: "In all the industrial sections of the city a large proportion of the homes are six-room houses, with a furnace for heating and gas for cooking and lighting. A bathroom, including toilet, washstand and tub, is usually also among the conveniences of a house of this size. The standard, therefore, is not at all an unrealizable ideal, but rather a description of a typical Philadelphia working man's home." It is, however, an ideal which a majority of wage-earning mothers' families have not attained.

According to the plan followed in building Philadelphia houses a four-room house contains two sleeping rooms, a six-room house, three. If there are more than four persons in a four-room house, therefore, either there are more than two in each sleeping room or someone is forced to sleep in the living room. Applying the standard of one person to a room, which implies two to a sleeping room, 169 (28 per cent.) of the houses are crowded.⁶ (Table XLVI.) The extent of crowding naturally de-

⁶ Bureau of Applied Economics, p. 15. "Figures collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the 1918-1919 study indicated that the majority of working men's families of average size and average income lived in houses which furnished approximately one room per person."

creases as the number of rooms increases; 64 per cent. of the two-room dwellings contain more than one person to a room or two to a sleeping room, while only 12 per cent. of the six-room houses are thus congested. Since so many households are made up largely of children the houses are not so crowded

TABLE XLVI—CROWDING IN HOUSEHOLDS OF WAGE-EARNING MOTHERS ¹

Number of rooms	Total	Households in which the number of persons is					
		Two or less	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven or more
Total	595	63	147	146	98	75	66
1 or 2 rooms	86	31	30	14	6	3	2
3 rooms	81	9	30	25	6	10	1
4 rooms	136	9	39	33	19	17	19
5 rooms	84	7	11	23	24	8	11
6 rooms	149	5	31	35	36	24	18
7 rooms or more	59	2	6	16	7	13	15

¹This table excludes five women who did not give information.

as they might appear. Table XIX shows that 32 per cent. of the households contain but one adult, 50 per cent. two adults, and only 17 per cent. three or more. There are, however, a few households where the crowding is excessive; 11 families with five or more members are living in one or two rooms.

The prevalence of one-family houses in Philadelphia makes home ownership possible as it is not in

TABLE XLVII—AMOUNT EXPENDED FOR RENT¹

Family weekly income	Total	Monthly rent			
		\$5 to \$10	\$10 to \$15	\$15 to \$20	\$20 and more
Total	531	159	246	102	24
Less than \$10.....	26	14	9	3	..
\$10 to \$20.....	149	69	64	15	1
\$20 to \$30.....	115	30	62	17	6
\$30 to \$40.....	114	22	57	28	7
\$40 to \$50.....	86	16	34	32	4
\$50 and more	41	8	20	7	6

¹ This table excludes 42 families who own their homes and 27 who did not give complete information.

a city of tenements. Forty-two of the 600 families who maintain homes owned their houses.⁷

The rentals shown in Table XLVII suggest an average standard of living. One week's income is more than sufficient to meet the monthly rent of a one-family house in most instances.⁸ Twelve of the 26 families with weekly incomes of less than \$10

⁷ None of the 370 mothers included in the West Side Study owned her home. See *Report of Bureau of Municipal Research*, for home ownership among workingmen's families in Philadelphia.

⁸ An allowance of \$20 a month for rent was made by the *Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia* (p. 49), after a general survey of rents in November, 1918, the time the investigation of wage-earning mothers was begun. See also *Eleventh Report, Henry Phipps Institute*, 81; Table 84 shows that 87.5 per cent. of 713 families in Jewish, Italian and negro districts of Philadelphia spend 25 per cent or less of their income for rent. These houses are one-family dwellings converted into tenements so that the group is not comparable with the working mothers who live in one-family houses.

however, spend more. The families with incomes of \$10 to \$20 a week use most of one week's pay for a month's rent and a few even spend half their income for rent.

No direct information was obtained on the schedules about the furnishings of the house and it was only as some unusual condition existed that any comment was entered by the investigator. Notes on the apparent prosperity revealed by house furnishings were, however, more frequent than on the poverty of the homes, either because a good standard of living was so out of the ordinary as to deserve special mention or because there were few homes in which the standard was remarkably low. The investigators occasionally report that they were entertained with music by the daughter of the house at the piano, a player piano, or a victrola. A red velvet parlor "suite," or a premium lamp were sometimes the most conspicuous features of the "parlor." The fact that there generally was a "parlor" is in itself significant of a certain standard of comfort. In one home an eleven year old boy was busy reading Robert Louis Stevenson during the entire visit of the investigator. The mother pointed to a book case and explained with pride that she had a whole set, the property of her first husband who was a "scholar."

The quality of housekeeping.

The wage-earning mother appears to be a fairly successful housekeeper. The investigators, after an examination which was necessarily brief and cursory,

reported that five in six of the homes were clean. The others were reported as dirty, including a very small group (less than one per cent.) branded as "filthy." The comparative cleanliness of working women's houses has been amply demonstrated by other investigations. In Birmingham, England, the conclusion was: "When, however, we compare the homes of the women who work with the homes of those who stay at home, there is less discrepancy than one would have expected. This points to the conclusion that the fact that a woman goes out to work is very often a sign of strength of character in a woman. It also shows how many women keep up the intense and pathetic drudgery entailed by doing the two kinds of work." ⁹ Again in Leicester, "In point of fact we find, as we have said, that the intelligent woman capable of earning a good wage usually manages her home well—she sets out to earn money that she may manage it better. In the light of our facts, then, we cannot find any reason for wishing to interfere with her liberty." ¹⁰

Only a small proportion of the mothers working full time and keeping house volunteered the opinion that their inability to keep the house clean and tidy was one of the undesirable results of wage-earning outside the home. Since a poorly kept house can be detected immediately, it is probably safe to accept the women's judgment as to whether or not their standards have deteriorated. The verdict of the 392

⁹ CADBURY, EDWARD, and others. *Women's Work and Wages*, p. 210.

¹⁰ BLACK, CLEMENTINA (editor). *Married Women's Work*, p. 227.

mothers who reported is evenly divided between the advantages and disadvantages of combining full-time employment with housekeeping. Those who believe that their home and family life has not been affected either favorably or unfavorably by this dual responsibility attribute the fact largely to the assistance of relatives and children and to child care agencies outside the household:

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Mothers who report injurious effects of wage-earning	149	37.9
Causes lack of child care and supervision..	45	
Disorganizes family life	39	
Affects child life (presumably unfavorably)	26	
Causes neglect of home	25	
Breaks up family	8	
Reduces husband's responsibility	5	
Keeps older children from school	1	
Mothers who report beneficial effects of wage-earning	146	37.3
Provides necessities	65	
Makes life more comfortable	29	
Keeps family together	28	
Improves mother's health	23	
Encourages steady work by husband	1	
Mothers who report no effect of wage-earning.	97	24.8
Relatives keep house	39	
Reason not stated	33	
Satisfactory outside care for children.....	17	
Children old enough to take care of selves..	8	

The wage-earning mother has attempted to meet the difficulty of combining industrial employment with household duties. She has followed her job

as a producer into the factory without thereby sacrificing her home. When she lives with another family the cause is not, as a rule, her gainful employment. She retains the management of her home either by reducing her hours in industry, by utilizing the services of others or by extending her own daily work period. She is assisted by homeless relatives who share her household and by neighbors whose own domestic tasks do not occupy their full time. Social and commercial agencies are also factors, although less generally used, in solving the mother's problem of bringing in a money income to substitute for her former more productive activities at home. Her success as a housekeeper demonstrates her good management.

CHAPTER X

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE CHILDREN

Substitutes for mother's care.

Under our present form of family organization the care and training of the growing child has come increasingly to be regarded as a community as well as a parental responsibility. The public school is now conceded to have an interest in child feeding, in the supervision of personal hygiene, and in special treatment for diseased and defective children while the community through other funds provides play facilities after school and during the vacation months. Other public and private organizations, libraries, churches, settlements, community centers and the like are organizing recreational and educational activities which substitute a more generalized control for the discipline formerly exercised in the home. These new social institutions apparently presuppose a decreasing supervision of the child by the parents, but there is no measure of the extent to which this is true in the "average" home. It is impossible, therefore, to hold the families of wage-earning mothers in relief against a background of homes in which the mother does not work outside the home, in order to note the differences in quality of "home making" and child care.

Although the families of these 728 wage-earning mothers are small, smaller than the families in the communities in which they live, they include a total of 1817 living children. Because of the basis of selection of mothers studied, only 17 per cent. of the children are over fifteen years of age. Practically 10 per cent. (174) of these children are not living at home at the present time. Those away from home are, for the most part, the older boys and girls (about 100) who have gone their own ways and are now more or less independent of their mothers. Almost half are in homes of their own (25), in the army or navy (24), or are so completely out of touch with the family that the mother did not report their residence (32). Of the 174 children away from home, 12 are known to be under five, while only 62 are between five and fifteen years of age. These younger persons are, as a rule, kept in contact with the life of the family although the mother is not responsible for their support. Only a comparatively small proportion (35) are in institutions, but a larger number (58) are boarding with friends or living with relatives.¹

Among the 1352 children under fifteen at home the younger ones are comparatively few. Only 23 per cent. (314) are under five years of age, as opposed to 29 per cent. of those under fifteen

¹The prejudice noted among the mothers discussed in *Mothers Who Must Earn* against "putting children away" appears to prevail among these women also. Grown children who were away from home were disregarded in the New York study, with the result that only seven per cent. of the living children are reported away either in institutions or with relatives.

in the country as a whole. Again, where there are children under five few are under one year of age. According to the 1920 Census, practically one-fifth of all children under five are under one, while less than one-tenth (30) of the group studied are under a year old. (Table XLVIII.) This age distribution shows that mothers with young children do not enter industry extensively. The child-care problem of the

TABLE XLVIII—PROVISION MADE FOR CARE OF CHILDREN
WHEN MOTHERS ARE AT WORK ¹

Ages of children	Total	Number of children taken care of by				
		Adult in household	Neighbor in her own home ²	Nursery ³	Neighbor runs in	No one
Total	1,430	742	51	165	64	408
Under 1 year....	30	19	3	4	4	...
1 to 2 years.....	48	35	3	7	3	...
2 to 3 years.....	50	33	6	7	4	...
3 to 4 years.....	79	57	6	8	8	...
4 to 5 years.....	101	64	16	12	9	...
5 to 10 years.....	511	295	12	87	25	92
10 to 15 years....	529	229	5	40	8	247
15 to 16 years....	82	10	...	...	3	69

¹ This table excludes six children under five and 10 girls over five about whose care the returns were incomplete. For the older children this supervision applies to time not spent at school.

² One child under five is taken to work with the mother.

³ This group includes three children cared for by Salvation Army and one at convent.

⁴ This group includes relatives with neighbors. In seven cases the neighbor lives in the same house. Eighteen children five and over are without supervision a part of the time.

wage-earning mother is primarily not a question of infant welfare but of late childhood and early adolescence.

Some provision is made for the care of all younger children in these households, for those under five as well as those under one year. Theoretically, none of them are left to their own devices while the mother is in industry. The information obtained from the mother regarding care is, however, not detailed and no distinction is made between physical care, bathing, dressing and feeding, and oversight, and training.² More than three-fourths (77 per cent.) of the children under five are kept in their own homes, while the others are taken away for the day. Those who are left at home are usually in the charge of a person actually living in the household (68 per cent.) but for the rest the only supervision is that afforded by a neighbor or relative living in the same building or on the same street. Children cared for away from home are taken to a nursery (12 per cent.) and to the home of a neighbor or relative (11 per cent.) in about equal proportion.³ So far as the reports of the mothers go there is no evidence that children barely able to look after themselves are pressed into service as nurse maids for still younger children. If "little mothers" are being exploited in this way it is probably only in those comparatively infrequent cases

² LEEDS, pp. 62-64, for the time spent in child care in homes where the mother does not work in industry.

³ The proportion of children put in nurseries while the mother is at work is very low in light of the fact that 84 families were interviewed because they were using one of three day nurseries.

when the children are left at home under the intermittent care of a neighbor, which must be supplemented by the oldest child in the group. All of these children under five years of age are equally in need of attention, although the kind they demand changes as they become more active and have a more varied diet. The mothers, however, appear to make no distinction in the assistance secured on the basis of age except that possibly the nursery is used more frequently for children under three than for the older ones.

The service most frequently provided for children under five is by an adult living in the household who is usually, but not always, a relative. The child who is kept at home is spared the strain of different surroundings, new faces and the trip morning and evening which are necessary conditions of care outside the home. Home life insures the maximum of quiet and regularity of habits, and wage-earning mothers who are able to make this provision for their children consider themselves fortunate. Comments such as, "Oh, mother looks after my boy as well as I could," were frequently made by women who left their children with relatives in the household. When a neighbor or a relative outside the household "looks in" to see how the children are getting along the results are not so satisfactory, and very few mothers (28) rely upon this intermittent care for their children. A Polish widow living in two rooms on the third floor of a tenement house in the Southeast section leaves her three children, all under six, at home alone. Her neighbor across the hall "looks in" once in a while. These visits of

inspection, however, are not so frequent as they should be and the investigator found the oldest child recovering from a deep burn, the result of starting a fire with coal oil.

Supervision outside of the home, either at the nursery or at a neighbors, is not often secured for young children. Of the 30 babies under one year, only four are in a nursery. Care at the home of a relative or neighbor, however, appears to be no more popular than at the nursery. Some of the 34 children who are thus looked after do little more than sleep at home while others are brought home for their meals. A widow who begins her work early in the morning has arranged that her two children, a boy of seven and a daughter of four, shall have breakfast at a neighbor's home as well as lunch and supper. She pays \$3 a week for their board. The neighbor, who acted as interpreter during the interview, said this payment did not cover the cost of the food, and added, "But we got to help each other."

The great majority of the children of these wage-earning mothers (69 per cent.) are between five and fifteen years of age, the time in the child's life when he begins to make contacts outside the home, when he starts to experiment with life and to question rules and authority of all kinds. The child becomes more conscious of social relationships: "the age of twelve has been found to be of greatest susceptibility to evil influence—an evidence of the beginning of the impetuous attitude toward restraint that is so prominent in the next few years . . . the period of greatest openness to good influence by

teacher or friend culminating in boys at sixteen and girls at fourteen." It is during these critical years when the influence of home standards begins to weaken, and the children look to their own numbers for their ideals of conduct, that mothers most frequently divide their attention between wage-earning and housekeeping.⁴

Wage-earning mothers not only leave children five years and over more often than younger children, but they also make less adequate provision for their care and supervision. The mother probably believes that when the children are old enough to dress themselves, to avoid being run over on the street, and to get their own lunches, they are able to look after themselves. Since they are in school for the greater part of the day she has further reason for believing that they are comparatively safe during her absence. More than a third of the children between five and sixteen years of age shown in Table XLVIII are left to their own devices after school and Saturday. They are accountable to no one during these hours. If any attention is given them it is often by an adult in the household, and more rarely, at a nursery or by a neighbor. In spite of the feeling that the nursery is "not the place for the boy of nine or ten,"⁵ more than one in ten of the children over five were sent to a nursery after school. The mothers perhaps have more difficulty in getting relatives and neighbors to look after these older

⁴KING, IRVING, *The Psychology of Child Development*, Chapter xiii, and HARTSHORNE, HUGH, *Childhood and Character*, Chapter vii.

⁵TYSON, HELEN GLENN, *The Day Nursery in Its Community Relation*, p. 7.

boys and girls and so turn to the nurseries for aid.

Educational attainments of children of wage-earning mothers.

The Pennsylvania compulsory education law applies to children between the ages of seven and fourteen years with certain continuation school provisions for those between fourteen and sixteen years. Of the 923 children listed below between seven and sixteen years, 72 or almost eight per cent. are not attending school, and apparently are not enrolled in any school. More than four per cent. (4.3) of the 532 children between ten and fifteen years of age are not in school. This percentage is about three times the proportion for all children in this age group in the United States in 1917 (1.47 per cent.).⁶ The school attendance by age is shown below for 1329 children. In addition to these 1329 children there are at home 314 under five years of age.

	<i>In School</i>	<i>Not in School</i>
Children 5 and under 6 years	22	83
Children 6 to 7 years	77	27
Children 7 to 8 years	87	18
Children 8 to 9 years	99	6
Children 9 to 10 years	91	6
Children 10 to 11 years	112	5
Children 11 to 12 years	101	6
Children 12 to 13 years	108	2
Children 13 to 14 years	108	3
Children 14 to 15 years	80	7
Children 15 to 16 years	65	19
Children 16 years and over	90	107

⁶ United States, Department of Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Education 1917*, p. 117. The estimated school enrolment was used as basis of the percentage.

No inquiry was made as to why the children were not attending school. Only one mother who works full-time said she had kept a child out of school to take care of younger children. This practice, however, may be more common than this report would indicate.

More than one-third (37 per cent.) of the children were attending parochial schools, 19 in the kindergarten, 370 in the grades and two in high school. This proportion in parochial schools is very high compared with the entire school population of the country in 1915, but no comparative data for cities are available.⁷ Patronage of the sectarian school may be high because many of these mothers (34 per cent.) are of Irish or Polish birth or descent, two nationality groups affiliated largely with the Roman Catholic Church.

In comparison with the city at large the children of wage-earning mothers not only show too large a proportion in the elementary grades but a startling proportion in the lowest grades. The "normal" age of children in the elementary grades is generally accepted as six or seven in the first grade and 13 or 14 in the eighth.⁸ Eighty-three per cent. (863) of the children who are in school are included within the ages of six and fifteen, and should therefore, be in the elementary grades. But instead of 83 per

⁷ The Report of the Federal Commission of Education shows that in 1915, out of an estimated population of almost twenty million children in the elementary schools, including kindergarten, primary and grammar grades, all but 11 per cent. were in public schools.

⁸ AYRES, LEONARD P., *Laggards in Our Schools*, p. 38.

cent., 94 per cent (980) are actually in the grades, 494 in public schools, 370 in parochial schools, and 116 of the 122 in the continuation schools are in the grades. Only six are in high school continuation classes, two in public and two in parochial schools, and eight in business college. It is impossible to state how much of this retardation is due to the fact that certain public schools in Philadelphia are so crowded that the children are allowed to attend only half a day.

Forty-six per cent. of the children in the grades are in the first, second or third grades, compared with only 27 per cent. of all Philadelphia children in 1919 in the elementary grades.⁹ Again, on the assumption that the "normal" child enters the first grade at six or seven and passes through one grade each year, 41 per cent. of 845 elementary school children for whom information is complete are over age for their grade. (Table XLIX.) Pupils attending parochial schools are more frequently over age for their grade (44 per cent. retarded) than those in the public schools (39 per cent. retarded). Of all the children in the elementary grades of the Philadelphia public schools in October, 1919, 25 per cent. were retarded. No figures are available, however, for the schools which these children attend so that comparison with similar groups is impossible.

Retardation begins to be a serious problem among boys and girls of working mothers in the third grade

⁹ Philadelphia, The Board of Public Education, *Statistical Reports of the Department of Instruction*. (Year ending June 30, 1920.)

(48 per cent.) and continues to be excessive through the sixth (50 per cent.) having reached its climax (57 per cent.) in the fifth grade. The child who is subnormal is frequently able to keep up his work in the first two grades but in the third grade he is beyond his depth. He may stay there year after year or he may proceed slowly to the fifth grade, then leaving school. Only the brighter children survive into the sixth grade so the retardation is less

TABLE XLIX—RETARDATION AMONG CHILDREN OF WAGE-EARNING MOTHERS COMPARED WITH ALL CHILDREN IN ELEMENTARY GRADES OF PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

School grade	Per cent. below normal grade for age			
	Children of wage-earning mothers in			All pupils in Philadelphia public schools ¹
	Public and parochial schools	Public school	Parochial school	
All elementary grades	41.2	38.7	44.3	25.4
First	25.0	18.6	31.1	10.7
Second	25.9	19.7	34.0	20.3
Third	47.8	40.0	54.9	29.0
Fourth	51.1	49.4	54.0	35.2
Fifth	56.7	57.3	55.7	36.3
Sixth	50.0	54.9	43.6	34.0
Seventh	33.3	28.3	45.0	21.6
Eighth	25.0	26.3	23.5	16.5

¹ Philadelphia, Board of Education, School District of Philadelphia. Statistical Reports of the Department of Instruction. Table 54, "Distribution in the Grades by Ages of All Pupils in Actual Attendance October 8, 1919."

frequent then and continues to diminish in the seventh and eighth grades.

Four "explanations of retardations" are offered in the report of the Philadelphia Board of Education. The first is mental deficiency, including children described as mentally subnormal and feeble-minded, which accounts for three per cent. of the retardation existing at the time. A second explanation is backwardness, dull and slow development making up 37 per cent. of the total number. Foreign parentage, with its accompanying language difficulty, explains 14 per cent. and irregular attendance and truancy, 31 per cent. The remaining 14 per cent. are ascribed to other causes. Wage-earning on the part of the mother may reinforce and aggravate some of these causes, especially irregular attendance and truancy. The additional burden put on the child because of the mother's work may be a factor in his slow development and apparent dullness.

No direct evidence was secured, other than that implied in the excessive amount of retardation, that irregularity of attendance is very great in this group. The principal causes of absence discovered in a study of 1158 children in Chicago, however, are peculiarly applicable to homes of wage-earning mothers. The excuses furnished by the mothers interviewed in Chicago are: first, sickness and family emergencies (60 per cent.); second, absence which could have been avoided by care and trouble on the part of the mother, including help with housework, running errands, lack of suitable clothes (35 per cent.), and third, absences unknown to the mother (5 per

cent.).¹⁰ The amount of sickness and family emergency may be no greater in the homes of wage-earning mothers than in other homes but it is obvious that the responsibilities put on the children would be heavier at such a time. The absence of the mother at the time the child starts for school is also an important factor in non-attendance. Furthermore, the truant officer may call at the home when the working mother is not there to hear his complaint nor can she take time from her work to inquire at the school about the attendance of her children.

Children's contribution to the household.

Comparatively young children, those between five and ten years of age, may be said to make an indirect contribution to the management of the household by taking care of themselves after school and on Saturday when the mother is at work. In this way the family is spared the expense of service or the maintenance of a relative or other adult in the household. A total of 408 children (92 between five and ten years, 247 between ten and fifteen and 69 between fifteen and sixteen) are helping in the running of the household by looking after themselves. Usually they must serve their own breakfast, get ready for school and assume the responsibility of getting there on time, morning and noon, as well as of keeping themselves out of harm's way after school.¹¹

¹⁰ ABBOTT, EDITH, and BRECKENRIDGE, SOPHONISBA P., *Truancy and Non-attendance in the Chicago Schools*, Chapter ix.

¹¹ LEEDS, pp. 62-63. "Six hours per week given to the care of children and the same time to their teaching and enter-

The service of children in the homes is limited to families maintaining their own households. Two reasons account for this situation: first, the family that boards has no household responsibilities and second, in any case the children in those families are too young to help. In 591 of the 600 independent households there is at least one child under sixteen years of age at home, and in 134 there is at least one child sixteen or over. Both groups and all ages help with all housekeeping operations about which inquiry was made, with the exception of sewing which is limited to those sixteen years and over. Seven per cent. under sixteen assist with laundry and breakfast, and 21 per cent. in preparing their own lunch. Marketing falls almost entirely on the younger group. The laundry work and preparation of breakfast are the two duties which the mother most frequently spares her children. Girls and boys appear to take an almost equal share in household duties when they are under sixteen. The convention of what constitutes woman's work appears to operate only in the adolescent period. Mrs. Kay reported that Charles, aged twelve, was very efficient at scrubbing the white marble steps until boys in the neighborhood began to call him "sissy"; after that he struck for indoor work.

Of the 171 children between fourteen and sixteen years of age, 61 (37 per cent.) are working and 110 are not working. Only 26 of those at work are

tainment is about the average. . . . The average time given to oversight (of children) is about seven hours weekly; six hours is mentioned most frequently. The difficulties of accurate measurement of time properly coming under this heading is apparent."

reported to be out of school, so it is apparent that 35 are both working and going to school. Either they are in continuation school or are working only after regular school hours.¹² The proportion of children at work is much higher (88 per cent.) in the group sixteen years of age and over. All but 77 of these, however, are said to be attending school. A few of the older ones are reported to be "loafing." This proportion of employment of boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age appears to be rather low but no comparative figures are available. It is probable that the mother works in these families, rather than the child, because she can earn more money. The services of the child are necessary in caring for younger brothers and sisters after school, hence he does not join his mother as a wage-earner.

Data are at hand concerning the wages and contribution to the family of 60 of the 61 working children between fourteen and sixteen years of age. It appears from the tabulation presented below that their earnings are small. But as in all industrial families, their contribution to the support of the

<i>Children Between 14 and 16 Years of Age Who Contribute</i>		
	<i>All of Wages</i>	<i>Part of Wages</i>
Children who earn less than \$5	4	—
Children who earn \$5 to \$10	35	4
Children who earn \$10 and over	14	3

¹² Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. School Law. Section 3603 provides that each child between 14 and 16 years of age who is employed shall attend school not less than eight hours a week.

family is large in proportion to their wages. Only three earn more than \$15 a week.

The children who are sixteen or over earn higher wages (85 per cent. making \$10 a week or more), but a fifth of them contribute less than their full income to the household budget. It is only when they are earning \$10 or more a week, however, that they keep any money for their own use. Thirteen of those sixteen years and over hold back \$5 or less a week for their own use; 14, between \$5 and \$10, and only four, \$10 or more. All apparently make some contribution:

	<i>Children 16 Years and Over Who Contribute</i>	
	<i>All of Wages</i>	<i>Part of Wages</i>
Children who earn less than \$5	2	—
Children who earn \$5 to \$10	22	—
Children who earn \$10 to \$15	59	15
Children who earn \$15 to \$20	32	8
Children who earn \$20 to \$25	9	6
Children who earn \$25 or more	3	2

*Wage-earning by mothers in relation to
child welfare.*

Wage-earning by mothers is, generally speaking, an indication of economic pressure in the home, even when the husband is contributing to its support, and practically always when the mother is the chief wage-earner. It is impossible, therefore, to draw a line distinguishing between the influence of the mother's wage-earning on the lives of the children and the effects of economic insufficiency. There are, however, certain definite effects on child life

which arise in connection with wage-earning by mothers, no matter what their causes. Among such effects may be mentioned: weakening of parental control, lowering of educational standards and apparently excessive demand on children for services in the home.

About one in six of the 442 mothers whose opinions as to the effect of their wage-earning and absence from home is shown on page 190 mentions the effect on her children. Forty-five said that the principal result of their absence had been to deprive their children of care and supervision. Over and over again they say that the children "don't mind" as they formerly did. This breaking down of discipline, however, cannot be attributed wholly to wage-earning by the mother. In many of these families employment was the concomitant of more radical changes, such as the death or desertion of the father or the breaking up of the home. It is probable that the loss of the father from over half of these homes is responsible for insubordination on the part of many of the children, especially the boys. Furthermore, the children are older now than when their mothers entered industry and this fact may be largely responsible for their tendency not to "mind."

The mother's inability to see that they get to school promptly and regularly and the increased demands made upon them at home may account for the fact that almost half of these children are behind their normal grade in school. Children who spend their evenings doing housework may easily appear dull and backward at their school tasks, but

in addition such factors as foreign birth, and lack of educational standard, must be taken into account. Two-fifths of these women were born in a foreign country; many do not speak English. The occupations in which they and their husbands are engaged do not for the most part indicate high educational standards.

Wage-earning by the mother of a family undoubtedly puts an additional burden on every member of the family, including even young children. They are forced to assume a greater responsibility for their own well-being than children in more fortunate homes. As they become able to help with the housework they are pressed into service. While other children are at play these children are helping at home. They appear to be initiated into household duties by way of marketing, then by preparing their own lunches at noon and eventually by taking part in all the work of the household except sewing and washing. These household duties, if they are not too heavy, may be advantageous to the child. He is taught more or less regular habits in this way and is forced to develop a sense of responsibility and self-reliance. The complaint is constantly made that in the modern city the child is being robbed of his heritage because he is given no work to do with his hands and is therefore more susceptible to the influence of the gang, the movie and what not. Although these children are not busy all of the time after school, they must keep within a fairly short radius of the home in order to attend to their duties.

The real problem of child care in the home of the wage-earning mother comes up in later childhood.

Generally the mother does not work while her children are in infancy or in early childhood. When she does, she usually arranges for their care by a relative or other adult living in the household. It is the child of five years and older who is in danger of being neglected while she is at work. With these older children, who are just beginning to form larger contacts outside the immediate circle of the home and family, the problem is not simply one of food and hygiene, but of education in conduct and social ideals.

CHAPTER XI

THE EFFECT ON CHILD BEARING

Maternity of wage-earning wives.

The mother's work outside the home while her children are young has long been considered one of the fundamental causes of infant mortality; it was stated by a British investigator as early as 1858 that "infants perish under the neglect and mismanagement which their mothers' occupation implies."¹ An extensive investigation made by the federal government in six Massachusetts cities failed, however, to reveal definite proof of this statement. The absence of a clear relation between employment of mothers and a high infant mortality rate, in the words of the report, "clearly disproves the contention that the extra-domestic employment of woman is the dominant factor in determining the infant death rate so far as the Massachusetts cities are concerned."² On the other hand, a more recent study

¹ NEWMAN, GEORGE, *Infant Mortality*, p. 93. A quotation from the writing of Sir John Simon.

² United States, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Labor. "Infant Mortality and Its Relation to the Employment of Mothers," *Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, Vol. XIII, p. 49.

published by the Children's Bureau shows that in New Bedford, Massachusetts, "the mortality among infants of mothers who were gainfully employed away from home during the lifetime of the infants was approximately one and one-half times the average mortality."³ The Women's Industrial Council, in 1917, recognized the scope of the problem by inquiring into the influence of wage-earning before and during pregnancy as well as during the lifetime of the child, but this investigation into the "quality of motherhood" failed to produce any positive evidence one way or the other. The study of the women who were industrially employed before the birth of their children, as contrasted with those not so employed, showed practically the same results in every point considered—the proportion of children living, dead and stillborn, the health of infants at birth, and the proportion of difficult confinements.⁴

Successful motherhood, viewed as a physiological and biological phenomenon, implies the birth, at term, of a healthy child who will survive into maturity. Obviously, the selection of the fittest for survival begins before birth. Unsuccessful motherhood may therefore imply: (1) a prenatal death (either an abortion, miscarriage or stillbirth including all children not breathing); (2) the premature death of a living child, or (3) a living child with a latent disease, such as syphilis, which will prevent

³ United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "Infant Mortality, Results of a Field Study in New Bedford, Massachusetts." *Bureau Publication Number 68*, p. 69.

⁴ DAWSON, F. E., "Report on the Industry and Motherhood Inquiry, III." *The Women's Industrial News*, XXI (New Series), pp. 15-16.

a healthy growth and development. The viability and future physical well-being of the individual are determined by heredity, by prenatal influences, those surrounding him before birth, and by post-natal influences, those affecting him immediately upon birth and during infancy.

After conception, the developing foetus may be subject to the ill effects of infections, such as syphilis, and to toxemias, such as metallic and alcohol poisoning. These infections and toxemias may kill the foetus outright, or may result in a living child of impaired vitality. Among other contributing factors which may be responsible for unsuccessful pregnancies are the pathological state of the woman's reproductive organs and the environmental conditions which surround her. Under the last head may be included poor hygienic conditions, long hours of work, poor or insufficient nourishment, physical fatigue, shock, fright, anxiety and other physical causes such as a blow, fall or strain.⁵ Malnutrition of the mother during pregnancy is held to be an important factor in causing debility and wasting diseases among infants, and in congenital defects.

After birth, the child comes into a wider environment and is acted upon by a greater variety of forces. The ability of the mother to nurse the child, her knowledge of child hygiene, and her ability to give it the care it needs are of paramount importance. The degree of economic well-being in the community, the prevailing marriage age, the proportion of legitimate to illegitimate births, the urbanization of the community, the sanitary arrange-

⁵ NEWMAN, pp. 79-80.

ments of the community and of the houses, as well as other features of the housing, are recognized as factors definitely related to the infant mortality rate.⁶ Dr. Newman, in the preface to *Infant Mortality* (p. vi), makes this statement: "Poverty alone is not responsible, for in many poor communities the infant mortality is low. Housing and external environment alone do not cause it, for under some of the worst external conditions in the world this evil is absent. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that this loss of infant life is in some way intimately related to the social life of the people."

The pregnancies of the 728 mothers included in this study have been divided into two groups: Of the total number of pregnancies which could be classified, 70 per cent. (1762) are known to have occurred before the mother became a wage-earner; the remaining 30 per cent. (721) did not take place until after the wife had worked outside her home. Information was not secured as to whether the women were actually at work during pregnancy. The following discussion, therefore, has no bearing on the question of the effect of employment on pregnant women.⁷

The classification of pregnancies with reference to the time of wage-earning reveals a difference in

⁶ United States Department of Commerce and Labor. Bureau of Labor. *Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*. XIII, p. 17.

⁷ A study made in Baltimore by the Children's Bureau concludes that: "The employment of mothers during pregnancy is associated with a high still-birth rate, a high premature rate and high mortality rate during the first year of life." See a discussion of this study in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 80, p. 948. (March 31, 1923.)

the degree of successful motherhood among women who worked and those who did not. Seventy-six per cent. of the pregnancies occurring before the wife went to work resulted in offspring living at the present time, while only 66 per cent. occurring after the wife had entered industry resulted in children who are still alive. Practically all of this difference between the two groups is accounted for by the increase (from 8 per cent. to 17 per cent.) in the proportion of prenatal deaths after wage-earning was begun. Infant and child mortality, on the contrary, have shown almost no changes in frequency since the mothers entered industry.

	<i>Per Cent. of</i>	
	<i>721 Pregnancies After Working</i>	<i>1762 Pregnancies Before Working</i>
Pregnancies resulting in child still living	66.3	75.6
Pregnancies resulting in child died in infancy	9.9	8.6
Pregnancies resulting in child died since infancy	6.8	7.6
Pregnancies resulting in prenatal death	17.0	8.2

Prenatal deaths.

Since miscarriages and abortions are not registered as births or deaths, it is impossible to measure their frequency in the population of this or any other country. Newman quotes French statistics to the effect that from one-fifth to one-fourth of all pregnancies are believed to result in non-viable issue. Pearson's figures show an even higher prenatal mortality, almost two in every five pregnancies. He estimates that 1605 conceptions are necessary to

produce 1000 children born alive. These 605 deaths are distributed thus: 391 in the first three months of pregnancy, 131 in the second three months and 83 in the last three months.⁸

In light of these estimates the reports made by the wage-earning mothers appear to be incomplete. Only one in twelve of all the pregnancies which occurred before the mother became a wage-earner is said to have resulted in a prenatal death, and one in every six pregnancies occurring after she became a wage-earner failed to produce a child living at birth. An analysis of clinic records in Turin, Italy, shows results which agree more nearly as to number with the reports made by these mothers than with the estimates cited above.⁹ The 3248 women whose records were studied are said to represent a fairly uniform standard of living, the outstanding difference between the three groups being the employment of the mother. Without more definite knowledge of how long these women have been in their present categories with reference to employment, this variation in percentages is of limited significance:

	<i>Per Cent. of Abortions and Stillbirths</i>
All pregnancies of 331 home-working mothers	15.2
All pregnancies of 2800 housewives....	11.9
All pregnancies of 117 peasant women..	6.2

⁸ NEWMAN, p. 78, and PEARSON, KARL. *The Chances of Death*. See also FULTON, JOHN S. "The Necessity for Minute Study of the Age-Incidence of the Causes of Infant Mortality." *Transactions of the American Society for the Prevention of Infant Mortality*, Vol. I, pp. 115-151.

⁹ *The Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, Vol. II, p. 147

In listing causes of prenatal deaths, as reported by the mother, there is a large possibility of error, since a physician is frequently not called and if he is, he need not explain the cause to the mother. For example, syphilis, a very frequent cause of abortion and stillbirth, is not mentioned. Furthermore, many of these pregnancies occurred some time ago and the explanation may have been modified as it passed from the physician to the mother and from her, in turn, to the investigator. The explanations of prenatal deaths obtained for 188 of the 269 cases accord in general with the commonly recognized factors entering into such losses: first, infections and toxemias, involving the health of the mother (7); second, accidents of pregnancy (97); and, finally the environmental conditions surrounding the mother at the time (84).

The difference in causes to which prenatal deaths are ascribed before and after the mother becomes a wage-earner, is, however, suggestive of the superior physique of the mothers who work as well as the greater environmental hazards which surround them:

	<i>Per Cent.</i>	
	<i>After Working</i>	<i>Before Working</i>
Prenatal deaths ascribed to infections and toxemias.	45.4	45.0
Prenatal deaths ascribed to accidents of pregnancy..	15.6	46.0
Prenatal deaths ascribed to causes apparently external to mother	39.0	9.0

Infant and child mortality.

After birth the environment of the developing individual is greatly widened, and the variety of inimi-

cal forces increased. The organism must adapt itself to a new diet, a new temperature and a new medium of respiration. Each of these new factors in its life is fraught with possibilities of disaster, particularly if the prenatal life has left it frail or predisposed to disease; yet infants born before the mother went to work show only a slightly stronger grip on life than those born after the mother went to work. Practically 10 per cent. of the pregnancies taking place before wage-earning resulted in an infant death, compared with less than 9 per cent. of those taking place after wage-earning. The child of the working mother appears to be as likely to survive as the child whose mother is not a wage-earner.

The causes of death as given by the mother for 196 of the 222 cases, are listed below, classified according to the international list of the causes of death. The death certificates of these infants have not been consulted.

	<i>Infants who died while Mother was</i>	
	<i>Working</i>	<i>Not Working</i>
Diseases of early infancy	15	31
Gastric and intestinal diseases	12	35
Respiratory diseases	11	18
General diseases	8	12
Convulsions	4	7
All other diseases	12	31

The number of cases under discussion is too small to warrant any conclusions about the relation of wage-earning to causes of infant deaths. It is probable that a more careful diagnosis would lead to reclassification of some deaths, especially those at-

tributed to convulsions which are symptomatic of meningitis, epilepsy, epidemic diarrhoea and many other diseases.

The information obtained from the wage-earning mothers has thrown no light on the connection, if there be one, between methods of infant feeding and the cause of death. In almost 70 per cent. of the cases breast feeding was continued up to the time of the child's death. In 26 per cent. of the cases the mother discontinued breast feeding because of lack of milk, while the other reasons varied. The mothers who worked before the birth of the child may have had more difficulty in nursing their children since one-third of them gave up because of lack of milk, compared with less than one-fourth of the mothers who had not worked. Since the ability to nurse a child depends largely on the hygiene and nourishment of the mother during pregnancy this slight difference may be accounted for by worry and economic pressure on the pregnant mother with consequent lack of proper food, rather than by the fact that she worked away from home. The feeding of these children on the whole compared very favorably with that of the living children who are now between one and five years of age. Of the total of 284 children in this group 34 were never breast fed, 41 were breast fed but the period of time was not reported, while 55 were breast fed for less than nine months and the remaining 154 for nine months or more.

Wage-earning and the quality of motherhood.

It appears that the previous industrial experience of the mother has some influence on the kind of care at confinement. Thirty-six per cent. of the women who had worked before the birth called in a mid-wife, compared with only 23 per cent. of the women who had not been at work.¹⁰ The women who had been employed received hospital care more frequently than the other women. The difference between these two groups may be due to the fact that the wage-earning mothers were forced to consider expenses more carefully than the women who had not yet found it necessary to go to work. The greater proportion of hospital care among women who had already been wage-earners may indicate that their confinements were more serious, or that their families were larger and their homes more crowded, or that they were unable to pay for medical attention at home.

These mothers often work during at least a part of their pregnancy. A waitress, 29 years old, the mother of four children, three living and one dead, is probably a typical case. The investigator reports that she "has never had help (with her housework) before or after childbirth. She stops working three months before the arrival of the child but has to clean house and get everything ready. The 'free' (city) doctor comes. He washes the new baby and

¹⁰ FLINT, ESTHER M. *Health Conditions and Health Service in Saint Paul*, p. 62. In 1917 out of a total of 3986 births in St. Paul, 22.4 per cent. were attended by midwives.

takes care of it 'just like a woman' on each of his visits. After the fourth day the wife sits up long enough to tend the baby, then after the ninth day she gets up and does her housework as before." This mother has been comparatively fortunate, in that she has been able to stay away from work for nine months after the birth of each child.

The causes of death of children over one year of age do not point to any direct effect of wage-earning by mothers. They are most frequently (33 per cent.) those commonly referred to as "children's diseases." Diseases of the nervous system (20 per cent.), particularly epidemic cerebrospinal meningitis, pneumonia and other diseases of the respiratory system (19 per cent.), are responsible for the great majority of child fatalities. The prevalence of infectious and contagious diseases may suggest lack of home care, but there is no evidence to show that industry is responsible.

The experience of these 728 working mothers throws but little light on the relation between wage-earning and successful maternity. The number of cases is comparatively small, the data are meager and unsupported by clinical records. Furthermore, no comparable body of facts relating to mothers who are not, and never have been, so employed are available. The most serious obstacle, perhaps, is the very great difficulty of isolating wage-earning as a factor. Employment is so closely associated with economic insufficiency and the whole problem of poverty that it cannot be treated apart from these conditions. The factors which influence successful maternity, such as race, nutrition and prenatal care,

as well as the question of family limitation, must also be analyzed before this problem can be solved. Meantime, studies, like the present one, are suggestive of the direction which more thorough research may take. In the experience of these 728 mothers prenatal deaths were more frequent after the mother entered industry than before, while the proportion of post-natal deaths shows practically no change.

CHAPTER XII

HEALTH CONDITIONS IN HOMES OF WAGE-EARNING MOTHERS

Health defects in homes of wage-earning mothers.

The families of working mothers are dependent upon the wages of their members for support. The earning capacity of their members, in turn, is largely determined by their health. These families have no accumulated wealth: savings accounts were practically non-existent at the time the mother began to work; at the time of the study, home ownership was confined to seven per cent. of the group. Ill health is not simply a temporary inconvenience, but it precipitates a financial crisis whose effects last far into the future. The Pennsylvania Health Insurance Commission (p. 3) reports that "the great majority of wage-earners' families can be self-supporting only so long as they are moderately healthy. When sickness comes they must have relief, if not from one source, from another, and the more prolonged the sickness, the greater the delay in securing care in the beginning, the greater must be the amount of relief."

The data on the health of the wage-earning

mothers and their dependents are inadequate. The material discussed in the present chapter, as well as in the preceding chapter, is limited but it has been included for what it is worth, because comparatively little of value has been published on these subjects. Health defect, as used in this chapter, refers to a complaint, usually chronic, which does not incapacitate the individual. An illness, on the other hand, refers to a definite disease, usually temporary. The mother's report, for the most part, was based on her own impression rather than on a physician's diagnosis. The investigators could not check up the accuracy of the statements, nor did they have the specialized training which would enable them to distinguish between symptoms and diseases. The disabilities included were only the more serious or obvious ones. Colds, defective teeth and defective eyesight were practically never mentioned. The investigation in Framingham, Massachusetts, reveals a discrepancy between the individual's complaint and the findings of a medical examination. In a preliminary census, only 6 per cent. of the persons questioned reported a defect while the later medical examination showed that 77 per cent. were defective in one respect or another and that 25 per cent. were suffering from major ills.¹

In spite of the inadequacy of the returns, health disabilities appear fairly frequently in these 728 families. More than one-half of them (414 or 57 per cent.) contained one or more persons complaining of a health defect at the time of the interview. By far the greater number of these complaints rep-

¹ Quoted by Burnham, Athol, *Community Health Problems*.

resent chronic indisposition. The proportion of temporary illnesses is no doubt appreciably reduced by the fact that no interview was held in a home in which there was any danger of contagion. In 264 households (36 per cent.), only one person is reported ailing and in 179 cases that person is the mother. Complaints about health are most numerous from the mothers (40 per cent. of the mothers reporting) and from the husbands (32 per cent. of the husbands reporting). Health defects seem to be comparatively infrequent among children in these households, since in only 117 (16 per cent.) of 728 households was one child or more reported as suffering from a health disability at the time of the study.

The present health of the household often fails to reveal the part that sickness has played in bringing the family to its present economic status. At the time the family was interviewed all of the Gallardo family, except six-year-old Antoine, were said to be well, but they had struggled for a long time under the handicap of poor health. The visitor reported that Mr. Gallardo "after an illness of four years had died four weeks previous to the interview. Antoine had been run over the day after his father's death and was taken to a hospital. John (three years old) did not look well. His mother explained that something had been the matter with his stomach and that he had been in the hospital for a long time. She was working when the last baby died after an illness of three days. Mr. Gallardo and Antoine had taken care of him, but the neighbor (who acted as interpreter) seemed to think he had lacked proper

attention. Mrs. Gallardo brought out an apronful of medicine bottles, 'all emptied by her children' as she explained with evident pride."

Health of wage-earning mothers.

A sickness history for the past year, more or less complete, was secured from the mothers themselves. Three hundred and twenty-one women (44 per cent.) reported that they had had an illness within the past year. The Kensington study of 734 households made for the Pennsylvania Health Insurance Commission discovered that in 466 (63 per cent.) of the homes the housekeeper had been ill during the past year. Either the wage-earning mothers have failed to report all of their illnesses or they are physically stronger than the women who stay at home. It is probable that women with greater resistance work in industry because they consider themselves physically fit to stand it. It is also likely that they have less time to think about their health than the mothers who are not in industry. The discrepancy between the working mothers and the Kensington housekeepers would have been far greater, however, had the latter study also extended into the period of the influenza epidemic. Half of the illnesses reported by the wage-earning mothers were due to influenza.²

² United States. Treasury Department. Public Health Service. "Statistics of Influenza Morbidity." *Public Health Reports* 35, pp. 584-597, March 12, 1920. The morbidity due to influenza reported by the mothers is probably about normal for the period of the epidemic. An investigation made by the Public Health Service in 1919, covering 10 cities throughout the United States, showed a morbidity rate of 280 per

	<i>Mothers Who Had</i>		
	<i>No Illness</i>	<i>Influenza Only</i>	<i>Other Illness</i>
Mothers in manufacturing and mechanical industries	242	103	114
Mothers in trade and clerical positions	30	17	7
Mothers in domestic and personal service	135	44	36

There seems to be a slight relation between the mother's occupation and the frequency of illness. The women in mills and factories show a higher proportion (47 per cent.) who had been ill than those in trade and clerical positions (44 per cent.) or those in domestic and personal service (37 per cent.). This grouping corresponds roughly with the length of the work day and of the work week, in as much as full-time workers are most frequently found in mills and factories. The nature of the work, the posture and the strain involved, also point to greater fatigue and increased liability to occupational disease in manufacturing and mechanical industries.³ The proportion of women reporting influenza, on the contrary, is highest among those in trade and clerical positions. These workers, saleswomen, cashiers and the like, with the possible addition of the waitresses in the domestic and personal service group, more frequently meet the public whom they serve and an epidemic is more likely to affect them.

1000 persons. The morbidity was found to be higher among women than men but to decrease with the age of the individual. "The tendency being toward a higher morbidity under the complex of conditions associated with comparative poverty."

³ LEGGE, T. M. "Occupational Diseases." *Industrial Administration*, p. 83.

Two hundred and twenty-five women said that they were absent from work within the past year because of illness, or illness in combination with other circumstances. The other 96 women who were ill apparently found it unnecessary or impossible to stop working. Over half (123) of those who lost time were out for a comparatively long period, five weeks or over.⁴ When the cause of absence was the sickness of the mother alone she returned to work in a relatively short time. Sixty-five (41 per cent.) of the women who had influenza were back in less than two weeks.

Over half of the women who reported an illness other than influenza incurred no cost for medical care, the greater number because they did without medical attention. Twelve received treatment gratis from a hospital or dispensary, while the expenses of 23 women were paid by someone outside the family. The other 70 women (45 per cent.) paid the charges of their illnesses, taking their "cure" either in self-prescribed medications or through a doctor's care at home or in a hospital.⁵ (Table L.) It is estimated that in normal times only 10 per cent of the sick

⁴*Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey*, Part VII, p. 541. "Seven days of lost time a year (for illness) is probably a conservative estimate for all industries."

⁵A study of 502 working women's records made for the Pennsylvania Health Insurance Commission (49-50) shows that 199 (40 per cent.) received medical care from a doctor during the preceding year. "Every girl who had had some expenditure had spent more than \$5.00. The largest group spent between \$20.00 and \$30.00." It is apparent that wage-earning mothers cannot spend as much for attention as these young girls who have better wages (89 per cent. less than \$20.00 a week compared with 92 per cent. of mothers with less than \$20) and, presumably, fewer dependents.

are treated in hospital wards, against 90 per cent. who are cared for at home.⁶ The figures for wage-earning mothers, except in influenza cases, conform to this estimate. They made very little use, however, of dispensaries and clinics, probably because the hours were not convenient.

TABLE L—NATURE AND EXPENSES OF MEDICAL ATTENTION FOR MOTHERS DURING ILLNESS OTHER THAN INFLUENZA¹

Medical attention	Total	Mothers whose expenses were				
		Not paid	Paid by family			Paid by some-one outside family
			Less than \$5	\$5 to \$25	\$25 and more	
Total	154	61	29	23	18	23
Doctor	81		22	22	14	23
Hospital	15	10	1	1	3	
Dispensary or clinic	4	2	1		1	
None	54	49	5 ²			

¹ Because of incomplete information, this table excludes three of the 157 women who reported an illness other than influenza.

² Probably for patent medicines.

Except influenza, which accounted for half of the cases, the most frequent causes of sickness are those usually associated with overwork, undernutrition and worry. "Colds" accompanied by lowered resistance due to overwork and lack of sleep, "rheu-

⁶ HOLT, L. EMMETT. "Hospital vs. Home Care of Influenza," p. 1, reprinted from *The Medical Record*, May 1, 1920. This estimate not limited to New York City.

matism," headaches, "nerves" and "rundown condition" made up a total of 78 cases, 25 per cent. of the 310 women giving the cause of illness.

It is possible that many of the women who report "stomach trouble" are judging merely from symptoms, and that the true cause of the disorder is something else. The causes of illness next in frequency (nine per cent.) are connected with the reproductive organs and child-birth and include so-called "inward trouble," painful menstruation, change of life and the disorders after child-birth. The other causes are various and it is impossible to judge from the mother's statement whether or not they bear any relation to employment. This group of sicknesses shows a greater variety, especially more influenza and more disorders apparently related to fatigue, than the illness reported by the housewives in the investigations carried on for the Pennsylvania Health Insurance Commission, where diseases connected with child-bearing were most frequent.⁷

Forty per cent. of the wage-earning mothers stated that they were suffering from a health defect or a disease on the day of interview. There is practically no mention made of the important defects of vision and of teeth and of constipation, in the complaints submitted by the working mothers—further evidence that they did not report all of their ailments. All of the women were working in spite of their poor health. The proportion is rather high in comparison with the results of the

⁷ *Report*, p. 69. Diseases of the puerperal state, as used here, probably include all disorders of the reproductive system.

Illinois Industrial Survey. Of the Chicago workers, 33 per cent. of the married, 34 per cent. of the widowed complained of health defects, compared with 20 per cent. of the married women without children and 22 per cent. of the unmarried women.⁸

The proportion of women reporting ailments rises steadily with the increase in age, from 19 per cent. of those under twenty-five, to 50 per cent. of those who are forty-five and over. Age is, however, largely an index of other factors, such as the length of working experience, number of children and general physical vigor. The comparative infrequency of serious health defects among this group of 728 wage-earning mothers may, therefore, be partially due to the fact that half of them are under thirty-five years of age, but chiefly to the fact that they could not go on working with a serious weakness.

The age at which a woman enters industry in her girlhood appears to have a distinct bearing on her health in later life. Long industrial experience apparently does not inure one to the rigors of industrial employment; the proportion of women reporting complaints about health decreases as the age at going to work for the first time increases. Exactly half of the women who began to work when under fourteen years now report that their health is impaired, compared with 39 per cent. who began between fourteen and sixteen years and 29 per cent. who were between sixteen and eighteen at the time. The proportion of health defects rises again to 38

⁸ *Illinois Industrial Survey*, p. 64. The "complaints include 'tired,' 'sore' feet, 'backache,' 'eyes tired,' 'nervous,' 'too tired for recreation.'"

per cent. among the women who became wage-earners when over eighteen, a group that, for the most part, were married.

It is impossible to estimate how important a part lack of medical care plays in the chronic ill health of many of these mothers. The effects of overwork, undernutrition, and worry are more apparent here than in connection with the illnesses reported during the past year. Exhaustion, headache, rheumatism, nervousness, and stomach trouble are mentioned by 59 per cent. of this group of women. If other ill-defined conditions, such as "aching all over," "weak spells," poor health, backache, were included the proportion of cases in which the health disability may be related to overwork would increase to 72 per cent.

Health of other members of the family.

Children are reported to be in poor health in 117 homes (16 per cent. of the total number of families). Of the total of 1643 children living in these households, however, only 136 (8 per cent.) were said by the mothers to have a health defect, or to be ill at the time of the survey. These returns, again, are undoubtedly incomplete since only 20 are said to have defective vision. Twenty-three are suffering from a disorder of the nervous system, 22 from disorders of the respiratory system, including throat troubles, bronchitis, swollen glands, adenoids, catarrh, asthma, and "bad lungs." It is likely that only the more obvious and serious defects have been mentioned. The proportion of disabilities in-

creases as the children become older, from five per cent. of the children under five years of age, to 10 per cent. of all children ten years of age and over. It is impossible to establish any causal connection between wage-earning by the mother and the health of the children when the data are as fragmentary as these.

Most health defects of children do not render them helpless but nevertheless put an additional burden on the mother. The child with the running ear, for example, needs frequent attention, the child with a weak heart ought to be constantly guarded from bodily strain. The crippled, paralyzed and incapacitated children need special care and training, while those suffering from such disorders as malnutrition, tuberculosis and stomach trouble should be kept on a carefully regulated diet.

One hundred and five husbands (32 per cent.) were said to be suffering from a health disability of one kind or another. The complaint returned most frequently by their wives is general debility (23). This classification included the men who were said to be "not strong," as well as those who were in "poor health," "sick all the time" or who "catch cold easily." Twenty-two men were partially or entirely incapacitated through accident or other causes, 10 were tubercular, nine complained of "rheumatism," seven had not completely recovered from influenza, while five reported "stomach trouble." The other 29 report a variety of disabilities. The distribution of complaints accords with the results of the investigations made for the Pennsylvania Health Insurance Commission, namely, that the disabilities

of wage-earners, in order of frequency are: accidents, tuberculosis, rheumatism and digestive trouble.

The wage-earning ability of these men is seriously impaired by their poor health. Twenty-three of the 34 men who were not working were suffering from chronic disorders, such as insanity, paralysis, tuberculosis, heart and kidney trouble, most of which, at their age, offer very little hope of recovery. Other conditions such as the effects of influenza, "rheumatism" and the effects of typhoid fever might be improved by rest, freedom from worry and good food. The men who are crippled or incapacitated through accident are sometimes able to return to lighter work. For the most part, however, it appears unlikely that many of the husbands of these women would ever be able to assume their places as chief wage-earners. It is also doubtful if the 61 men who had health defects or diseases but were still working were on their way to complete recovery. They will in all probability repeat the histories of the 101 men whose illness caused their wives to go to work. This group has been increased by new recruits and decreased by deaths (57) or complete recoveries (16) but almost half (48) remain sick. Half of those who are still sick (25) are reported unable to work, while the other men (23) have recovered partially and are working at lighter work or more irregularly at their former occupation. When the husband does lighter work his pay is lowered; when he works irregularly the rate of pay usually is the same but the income is materially reduced by the loss of a day or a week now and then.

Health and wage-earning.

It is doubtful, from what these mothers have said of their illnesses and of their chronic health defects, whether employment outside the home, *per se*, is disastrous. It is true that women who are in occupations involving the longest hours and probably the most difficult conditions, manufacturing and mechanical industries, most frequently report illness (other than influenza) and in these illnesses overwork and worry may be contributing causes. On the other hand, a majority of mothers reported no chronic health defects. Those who do complain of chronic ill health show conditions due to exhaustion resulting from doing two women's work and not specifically from wage earning. Furthermore, those who report poor health in greatest number are the older women, a fact that suggests that wage-earning is not the only factor to be considered.

The health of the members of the family, especially of the husband, is perhaps one of the most important factors in determining whether mothers enter industry or stay at home. The premature death of the husband was the immediate cause of wage-earning by 164 women, while the illness of the husband sent 101 to work outside the home, a total of 37 per cent. directly chargeable to the sickness or death of the chief wage-earner.⁹ In addition, much of the

⁹ Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, "Some Statistics on Widows and Their Children." *Statistical Bulletin* II, p. 6. (April 1920.) Table I shows 62 per cent. of the widows left by 1845 deceased policy holders were over 45 years of age while only 18 per cent. of 254 deserted, divorced and widowed wage-earning mothers are 45 or over. See chapter iv.

financial pressure which forced women (29 per cent.) into the mills and factories was undoubtedly due to unpaid doctors' bills, or to the expense of proper foods for invalids. In fact, sickness has long been considered one of the most prolific causes of poverty and indirectly of wage-earning by mothers. "There is much truth in each of the statements that poverty is responsible for much disease, that disease is responsible for the greater part of the total poverty in our midst and that poverty begets poverty." ¹⁰

¹⁰ NEWSHOLME, ARTHUR. "Public Health and Insurance," *American Addresses*, p. 184.

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULES USED IN THE INTENSIVE
STUDY OF 728 MOTHERS IN INDUSTRY

TABULATION No.

MARRIED WOMEN IN INDUSTRY—CARD I.—FAMILY RECORD.

VISITOR'S No.

1. Name.....2. Address.....3. Color.....4. Age.....
5. Age at marriage (a) W...6. M...W...D...Sep...7. Nativity (a) Woman.....(b) Husband.....
- (c) Woman's 1. M....2. F....(d) Husband's 1. M....2. F.....8. Yrs. in U. S. (a) W....(b) H....

9. MEMBERS OF FAMILY.

	(a) Name (sex)	(b) Relation to Woman	(c) Age		(d) Occupation or School	(e) Address of Firm or School	(f) Hours (From —To)	(g) Grade	(h) Wage	(i) Am't Con't'd Tow'rd Hous'ld	(j) Weeks out Ill- ness	(k) Health, Mental and Moral Record
			1 Pres- ent	2 At Leaving School								
1												
2												
3												

10. CHILDREN UNDER 14 YEARS OF AGE.

	(a) Name (sex)	(b) Relation to Woman	(c) Age	(d)		(e) Hours (From —To)	(f) Grade	(g) Health, Mental and Moral Record	(h)		(i) Breast Feeding
				School or Nursery	Address				Weeks away from Job	Before Birth	
1											
2											
3											

11. MISCARRIAGES—STILLBIRTHS—DEATHS.

	(a) No. of Child	(b) Miscarriage or Stillbirth	(c) Age at death	(d) Cause of Loss	(e)		(f) Breast Feeding	(a) No. of Child	(b) Kind of Atten- tion	(b) Kind of Atten- tion
					Weeks away from Job	Before Birth				
1										
2										
3										

Carola Woerishoffer Department of Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College, and Bureau for Social Research, Seybert Institute, 1918.

Visitor..... Date.....

TABULATION No.

MARRIED WOMEN IN INDUSTRY—CARD II.—HOME RECORD ¹
13. HOUSING CONDITIONS

VISITOR'S No.

(a) Type of Neigh- borhood	(b) Type of House	(c) How long there	(d) Rent	(e) To Whom Paid	(f) No. in House- hold	(g) No. of Rooms	(h) Toilet	(i) Water Supply	(j) Surface Drain- age	(k) Repairs	(l) Cleanli- ness	(m) Why Moved
1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14.	Meals cooked by whom..(a) breakfast 1.....2.....(b) dinner 1.....2.....(c) supper 1.....2.....											
15.	Meals served when.....(a) breakfast 1.....2.....(b) dinner 1.....2.....(c) supper 1.....2.....											
16.	Meals family participation (a) breakfast 1.....2.....(b) dinner 1.....2.....(c) supper 1.....2.....											
17.	Kind of food used.....1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....											
18.	Cleaning (a) when.....1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....											
19.	Washing (a) when.....1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....											
20.	Sewing (a) when.....1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....											
21.	Marketing (a) when.....1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....(b) by whom 1.....2.....											
22.	Care of young children (a) at home..1.....2.....(b) to nursery 1.....2.....(b) from nursery 1.....2.....											
23.	Care of older children (a) after school 1.....2.....(b) play after 1.....2.....(b) Saturday 1.....2.....											
24.	Recreation, children (a) kind 1.....2.....(b) time spent.....(b) time spent.....											
25.	Recreation, father (a) kind..1.....2.....(b) time spent.....(b) time spent.....											
26.	Recreation, mother (a) kind..1.....2.....(b) time spent.....(b) time spent.....											
27.	Other recreation (a) kind..1.....2.....(b) time spent.....(b) time spent.....											
28.	General effects of woman's employment on family life.....EXPENDITURES OTHER THAN LIVING.											

(a) Total Wages	(b) Boarders	(c) Lodgers	(d) Other Sources	(e) Total Est.	(f) Savings	(g) Insur- ance	(h) Amuse- ments	(i) Educa- tion	(j) Service	(k) Unions
1										
2										

Carola Woerishoffer Department of Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College, and Bureau for Social Research, Seybert Institute, 1918.

Visitor.....Date.....

¹ In questions 14 to 30 inclusive 1 and 2 refer to facts before and after the mother entered industry.

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

When the present investigation was undertaken, the only sociological investigation devoted exclusively to the wage-earning mother in the United States was *Mothers Who Must Earn*, by Katherine Anthony, published in 1914. This study of the conditions under which the wage-earning mother lives and works was made in the West Side of New York. It gives a sympathetic treatment of the problems which confront the mother who must combine work outside the home with work in the home, but the causes which are responsible for this double burden have not been systematically explored. A report of the United States Senate Committee depicts the conditions which surround women in industry, regardless of their marital status. The thirteenth volume of this nineteen-volume report considers the relation of infant mortality to the employment of mothers.

Since 1921 the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has conducted a series of studies on the employment of women in various states and in various industries. While these investigations include married women, they give no clue to the responsibilities of married women as mothers. A leaflet on *Married Women in Industry*, an analysis of the 1920 Census pertaining to the occupation of women, entitled *The Occupational Progress of Women*, both appearing

in 1922, and *The Share of Wage-earning Women in Family Support*, published in 1923, contribute to our knowledge of married women in industry, but not to our understanding of the mother in industry.

In each of the nine studies on *Infant Mortality*, made since 1915 by the Federal Children's Bureau, an attempt is made to show the relation between wage-earning by mothers and infant deaths and stillbirths. The number considered in each city is necessarily small and the group is not intensively studied.

Data strictly comparable to those presented in the present book on the work and life of wage-earning mothers are found in one contribution by the Women's Bureau and one by the Children's Bureau, of the Federal Department of Labor. The first is entitled *Family Status of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities*. This discussion, however, is limited to the composition of the families where mothers are in industry, the status of the husband, the age of the children, and the extent to which these mothers maintain their own homes. The second report is on *Children of Wage-earning Mothers*—a study of a selected group in Chicago, by Helen Russell Wright. Although based on groups selected from the records of the United Charities, from the day nurseries and from colored families, and although presented from the point of view of the child, it does afford data similar in type and content to those discussed as a result of the present investigation.

In Great Britain an excellent bibliography on women in industry has been prepared by Lucy W. Papworth and published by the Women's Industrial Council. *Married Women's Work*, edited by Clementina Black

in 1915, is a survey of conditions of work in different rural and urban centers in Great Britain. A report on an *Industry and Motherhood Inquiry* by Leigh B. Hutchins, Clementina Black and Mrs. Boyd Dawson was published in the *Women's Industrial News* during 1917 and 1918. Clara E. Collet's report on the employment of women and girls contains statistical and other material on married workers. These two reports were published by the British government in 1894 and 1898.

The report issued by the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry with a minority report by Mrs. Sidney Webb is a valuable discussion, particularly of the possible future relation of the wages of men and women to family support. The minority report as well as the section devoted to health and the relation of employment to maternity are especially pertinent to the question of the working mother. *The Disinherited Family* by Eleanor Rathbone, published in 1924, follows the argument of Mrs. Webb and presents an exhaustive discussion of the proposal of an extra family wage as it applies in different countries and as it might apply in Great Britain.

There are incidental references to the wage-earning mother or the wage-earning married woman in a number of British books and articles. General discussions, such as Leigh B. Hutchins' book, *Women in Modern Industry*, as well as discussions of special trades, for example, Barbara Drake's *Women in the Engineering Trades*, contain material about married working women. The relation of wage-earning to maternity especially occupies the attention of English writers since the system of maternity benefits forms a part of the national insurance.

The analysis of the British Census of 1911, Vol. XIII, called "Fertility of Marriage," published in 1923, relates wage-earning by mothers to birth rates and survival rates, in association with age of marriage, duration of marriage, and for specified selected occupations. It will provide basis for further and careful study of the effects of wage-earning on effective fertility and the whole question of the employment of mothers. It does not aid in consideration of the present report.

Germany, Italy and France are among the continental countries which have taken cognizance of the social and economic problems raised by mothers being in industry. Sociological investigations based on individual cases as conducted in England and the United States do not appear to have a place in the literature of other countries. *Über Fabrikarbeit Verheirateter Frauen*, by Rose Otto, discusses factory employment of married women in England as well as in Germany, with special emphasis on the economic significance for the household of the employment of the married woman. The available literature on the subject in Italy and France appears to be chiefly concerned with the relation of maternity and breast feeding to employment rather than with the industrial and home conditions of the working mother. The declining birth rate in France has forced the question of race conservation upon statesmen.

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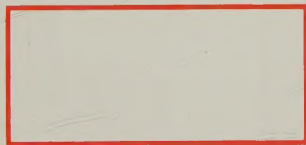
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